

THE  
COLLECTION  
OF THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
ENGLAND.

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*By Samuel Daniel.*

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Revised, and by his last corrected  
Coppie Printed.

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LONDON,  
Printed by *Tho. Cotes*, for *Simon Waterston* dwelling at  
the Signe of the Crowne in *Pauls Church-yard*.

1634.







TO  
THE MAIESTY  
OF ANNE OF DEN-  
MARKE, QVEENE OF ENG-  
*land, Scotland, France, and Ireland.*



**D**eeenes, the Mothers of our Kings, by whom is continued the Blessing of succession that preserves the Kingdome, having their parts running in the times wherein they live, and likewise interested in the Histories thereof, which containe their memories and all that is left of them, when they have left to be in this world. And therefore to you great Queene of *England* (and the greater by your love to the Nation, and the blessing you have brought forth for the continuation of the future good thereof) doe I your humblest servant addresse this peece of our History; which, as it is a worke of mine, appertaines of right to your Majesty, being for the most part done under your Roofe, during my attendance upon your sacred Person; and if ever it shall come to be an entire worke, and merit any acceptation in the world, it must remaine among the memorials of you, and your time, as  
A 1 brought

*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

brought forth under the splendor of your goodnesse. Howsoever, this which is done shall yet shew how desirous I have beene to lay out my time and industry, as farre as my ability would extend to doe your Majesty and my Country service in this kind.

And though at high Altars, none but high Priests ought to sacrificize, yet vouchsafe mighty Queene, to accept this poore oblation from the hand of your Majesties

*Humblest servant*

**Samuel Danyel**



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brought



## Certaine advertisements to the Reader.



His Peece of our History, which beere I divulge not, but impart privately to such Worthy Persons as have favoured my indevours herein, should long since have bene much more : And come abroad with Dedication, Preface, and all the Complements of a Booke, had my Health and Meanes bene answerable to my desire : But being otherwise, I must intreate my Friends, to be content to be payde by peeces, as I may, and accept my willingnesse to yeelde as much as mine ability can performe. It is more than the Worke of one man, (were he of never so strong Forces) to compose a passable Contexture of the whole History of England. For, though the inquisition of ancient times, written by others, be prepared, yet the Collection and Disposition I find most laborious. And I know quam sit magnum dare aliquid in manus hominum, Especially in this kinde, wherein more is expected than hath bene delivered before. Curiosity will not be content with Ordinaries. For mine owne part, I am so greedy of doing well, as nothing suffices the appetite of my care herein. I had rather be Master of a small peece handsomely contrived, than of vaster doomes ill proportioned and unfurnished, and I know many others are of my mind.

Now for what I have done, which is the greatest part of our History (and wherein, I dare avow, is more together of the maine than hath bene yet contracted into one peece) I am to render an Account, whence I had my Furniture : Which if I have omitted to charge my Margin withall, I would have the Reader to know, that in the Lives of William the First, William the Second, Henry the First, and Stephen, I have especially followed William Malmsbury, Ingulphus, Roger Hoveden, Huntingdon,



## TO THE READER.

With all such Collections, as have beene made out of others for those times. In the Lives of Henry the Second, Richard the First, Iohn and Henry the third: Giraldus Cambrensis, Rulhanger, Mat. Paris, Mat. Westminst. Nich. Trivet, Caxton, and others. In the Lives of Edward the first, Edward the second and third: Froissart and Walsingham, with such Collections as by Polydore Virgile, Fabian, Grafton, Hall, Holinghead, Stow and Speed, diligent and Famous Travellers in the search of our History, have beene made and divulged to the world. For forraigne busineses (especially with France, where we had most to doe) I have for Authors, Paulus Æmilius, Haillan, Tillet, and others, without whom we cannot truly understand our owne Affayres. And where otherwise I have had any supplies extraordinary, either out of Record or such Instruments of State, as I could procure, I have given a true account of them in the Margin. So that the Reader shall be sure to be payde with no counterseit Coyne, but such as shall have the Stampe of Antiquity, the approbation of Testimony, and the allowance of Authority, so farre as I shall proceed herein.

And for that I would have this Breviary to passe with an vn-interrupted delivery of the especiall Affaires of the Kingdome (without imbroyling the memory of the Reader) I have in a body apart, under the Title of an Appendix, Collected all Treaties, Letters, Articles, Charters, Ordinances, Intertainements, provisions of Armies, busineses of Commerce, with other passages of State appertaining to our History; which as soone as I have meanes to Print, shall for the better satisfying of such Worthy persons, as may make use of such Materials, accompany this Collection; and to this Appendix, I have made references in the Margin as occasion requires.

For the Worke it selfe, I can challenge nothing therein but onely the joining it together, and the observation of those necessary circumstances, and inferences which the History naturally ministers: Desirous to deliver things done, in as even, and quiet an Order, as such an heape will permit, without quarrelling with the Beleefe of Antiquity, depraving the actions of other nations to advance our owne, or keeping backe those Reasons of State they had, for what they did in those times: holding it fittest and best agreeing with Integrity (the chiefe duty of a Writer) to leave things to their owne Fame, and the Censure thereof to the Reader, as being his part rather than mine, who am onely to recite things done, not to ale them.

Now

## TO THE READER.

Now for the errors herein committed, either by mine owne mistakings or the Printers over-sight, I must crave Pardon of course; it is a Fate Common to Bookes and Booke-men, and we cannot avoyde it: For besides our owne saylings, we must here take up many things upon other mens credits, which often comes imperfekt to our hands: As the summes of Monies, numbers of Souldiers, Shippes, the slaine in Battaile, Computation of Times, differences of Names and Titles, &c. Wherein our Authors agree not. And it were to be wished that we had more assured notes of these particulars than we have, especially for summes of Monies (in regard it serves much for instruction) wherein I doubt many of our Collectors have beene but ill Aceountants, reckoning Markes for Pounds, and Pounds for Markes. The Computation of Times is not of so great moment, figures are easily mistaken; the 10. of July, and the 6. of August, with a yeare over or under, makes not a man the wiser in the businesse then done, which is onely that he desires. But these things being but of the By, the understanding Reader will not much care to set at them, and therefore I referre him to the Mainie, of more important consideration.

London is small Oct 25 1732

If hapin Forras has any small as a gent luffman it is W Daniel but  
of all him in bringing together more materials of importance



THE  
COLLECTION  
OF THE HISTORIE OF  
ENGLAND: CONTAINING  
BRIEFLY THE ESPECIAL LA-  
FAIRES OF THE GOVERNMENT:

Compiled by SAMUEL DANIEL, one of  
the *Graemes* of the *Queenes* Majesties most  
Honorable privie Chamber.



Undertaking to collect the principall affaires of this Kingdome, I had a desire to have deduced the same from the beginning of the first British Kings; as they are registred in their Catalogue; but finding no authentically warrant how they came there, I did put off that desire with these considerations: That a lesser part of time, and better knowne (which was from *William* the first, Surnamed the *Bastard*) was more than enough for my abilities; and how it was but our curiosity to search further backe into times past than we might discern, and whereof we could neither have prooffe nor profit; How the beginnings of all people, and States were as uncertaine, as the heads of great Rivers: and could not adde to our vertue; and peradventure little to our reputation to know them. Considering, how commonly they rise from the Springs of poverty, pyracie, robbery, and violence; howsoever fabulous writers (to glorie their nations) strive to abuse the credulity of after ages with heroycall, or miraculous beginnings. For States (as men) are ever best scene, when they are up, and as they are, not as they were. Besides, (it seemes) God in his providence to check our presumptuous inquisition, wraps up all things in uncertainty, barres us out from long antiquity, and bounds our searches within the compasse of a few ages, as if the same were sufficient both for example, and instruction to the government of men. For had we the particular occurrences of all ages, and all nations, it might more stusse, but not better our understanding. We shall finde still the same correspondencies to hold in the actions of men: Vertues, and Vices the same, though rising and falling, according to the worth, or weaknesse of Governors: the causes of the ruines, and mutations of States to be alike; and



the traine of affaires carried by precedent, in a course of Succession, under like colours.

But yet, for that the chaine of this collection hath a linke of dependencie with those former times, we shall shew the passage of things the better: if we take but a superficial view of that wide, and uncertainly-related state of this Land, since the candle of letters gave us some little light therof. Which was, since the *Romans* made it a tributary Province to their Empire. For before, as it lay secluded out of the way, so it seemed out of the knowledge of the world. For *Julius Caesar*, being but on the other side in *Gaul*, could not attaine to any particular information of the state of *Brittain*, by any means he could use, but by certaine Merchants (of whom he got together as many as he could) who told him something of the coast townes, but of the state, and condition of the in-dwellers, they could say nothing: either so inquisitious were they of further knowledge than what concerned their trade, or the people here so wary to keepe their state reserved and unknowne to strangers. And yet *Caesar* gave out that they sub-dued the *Gauls* against him, and made it the occasion of his quarrell, and invasion of the Land, whereof he onely subdued the South parts, and rather shew'd it, then won it to the *Roman* Empire.

But now, what was the state, and forme of government among the *Brittaines* before this subjection, the first certaine notice we have (is also by the same *Caesar*) who tells us how they were divided into many severall states: nominates foure Princes of *Armen*, by the title of Kings: now *Cassivellaunus*, by the common councill was elected, in this their publique danger, to have the principall administration of the State, with the businesse of warre: and afterward, how the cities sent their hostages unto him. Wherby we perceive it was no Monarchie, as it is reported to have beene, but like to the *Gauls*, with whom it was then one in Religion (and much alike in fashion, and language) divided into a multitude of petty regiments, without any entire rule, or combination. As now we see all the West world (lastly discovered) to be, and generally all other countries are in their first, and in their free nakednesse, before they come to be taken in; either by some predominant power from abroad, or grow to a head within themselves, of strength, and understanding to over-master, and dispose of all about them; introducing such formes of rule, as ambition, or their other necessities shall beget. And such was then the state of *Brittain*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and all the West parts of *Europe*, before the *Romans* (over-growing first the people of *Italy* in like manner divided) did by strength, and cunning, unlocke those liberties of theirs. And such as were then termed Kings, were but as their Generals in warre, without any other great jurisdiction, within those small limits they held. So that to tell us of the state of a Monarchy in this Land before that time (as if alone unlike, or more in state than all other Nations) is to give entertainment to those narrow conceits, as apprehend not the progresses in the affaires of mankind; and onely the invention of such, as take all their reason, from the example, and Idea of the present Customes they see in use. For had there beene an absolute Monarch in these parts, which might have affronted the *Romans* with the power of a well-united State, it had beene impossible for them (having oftentimes much to doe even with some poore Prince of a small territorie) to have circumvented, or confounded (with all their stratagems, and injustice) the peace, and libertie of the world in such sort as they did. And though the *Brittaines* were then simple, and had not that fire-brand of letters, yet seemed they more just, and honest, and

Of the forme  
of Govern-  
ment among  
the *Brittaines*.

*Cæs. Com-  
ment. lib. 5*

*Complures sunt  
apud eos domi-  
nationes. Strabo  
lib. 4.*

and brought forth on the Stage of action, men as magnanimous (and toucht with as true a sense of honour, and worthinesse) as themselves.

But having no firme combinements to chaine them together in their publique dangers, they lay loose to the advantage of the common enemy; working upon the factions, and emulations, usuall to such divisions, and were made the instruments of their owne subjection: for whilest every one defended them apart, the whole was overcome.

So that with what credite, the account of above a thousand yeares from Brute to Cassivellaunus (in a line of absolute Kings) can be cleared, I doe not see; and therefore will leave it on the booke to such as will be creditors, according; to the substance of their understanding. And yet, let mee crave pardon, least being but to report, I might seeme to contend, if I make this inquirie: how the memory of those former times, came to be preserved and delivered to posterity, if they had not the use of Letters in this Land (as it seemes by all probability they had nor) before they were introduced by the Romanes; who sure would have given us notice therof, had they found them here at their comming, and especially of Schooles and the Greeke tongue, reported to have beene planted here for many ages before: but hey tell us of no such thing: they enforme us how the *Druydes*, (who were the Ministers of Religion and Iustice, the especiall men of knowledge) committed not their mysteries to writing, but delivered them by tradition, whereby the memory of them after their suppression (first by *Augustus*, and after by *Claudius*) came wholly to perish with them. Which, had they had letters and books, could never by all the power and authority of the *Romane* state, been so utterly extinct, but that we should have heard something more of them.

Besides, it is strange how the Greeke tongue, and the knowledge of Philosophy, should be brought hither so farre off, and so soone; seeing it was late (as *Livy* saith) before it came into *Italy*, being so neere at hand. Moreover, it is considerable, how it made that transmigration, whether by Sea or Land. By Sea, *Hercules* had set Pillers that shut up the world, many ages after, for passing that way. If by Land, *Germany*, and other Countreies on that side, would have taken some part in the passing: but *Germany* then, we finde had no letters at all; onely *Marseilles*, a Colonie of the Greekes being in the mid way, might be a gate to let it into *Gaul*, and so hither: but they say the *Marseillians* used onely Greeke Characters at first, but for all their private accounts and contracts in traffique, and no otherwise. So that it seemes then, the Brittaines received first letters (with their subjection) from the Romanes, and *Agricola*, Praefect of the Province under *Domitian*, caused them here to be taught, (as *Cornelius Tacitus*, his sonne in law reports upon this occasion.

"Advice was taken, saith he, that the people dispersed, rude, and so apt to rebellion, should be inured to ease and quiet by their pleasures: and therefore they exhorted privately, and aided them publikely to the building of Temples, Bourses, Pallaces, commending whom they found forward, and correcting the unwilling, so that the emulation of honor was for necessity: then they caused the principall mens sons to be taught the liberall Sciences, extolling their wits for learning, above the *Gaules*, in so much as they who lately scorned the *Romane* tongue, now desired eloquence. Hereupon grew our habite in honour, the gown frequent, and by degrees, a generall collapsion into those softnings of vices, faire houses, bathes, and delicate banquets, and that by the ignorant, was termed humanity, when it was a part of servitude. Thus far he acquaints us with the introduction, and cause of the *Roman* learning in the Land. Which (had it had the *Greek*

*Cic. in Ep. ad Atticum, ubi belli Britannici exitum explicari scribit, nullum ex eo specem praeferre, si ex inscriptis, aut ex quibus nullus patet de literis, aut musica eruditus expectare. Et lib. de Nat. Deorum, pariter eos cum Scythia barbaris insinuat.*

*Ingenio Gallorum partim similes sunt, partim simpliciores, et magis barbari. Strabo lib. 4.*

And it was after the subjection of *Gaul* that they intertaind Philosophers, and Philitions for publique Readings, and became a schoole for those parts as wee may perceive by *Strabo* lib. 2.

tongue, so many hundred yeares before) would have been as forward in the liberall Sciences, as the *ROMANS*, and not needed this emolliation by learning. Philosophy would have prepared them to a sufferance of subjection, that they could not have bin so universally rude, and barbarous as they are reported to have been. So that I feare me, of all that lies beyond this time, we can have no other intelligence, but by tradition. Which how we may credite for so long past (when letters, for all the assurance they can make, breake faith with us in the information of things even present) let it be judged.

And now for the time since, (which seemes to be all that amounts to our knowledge of the State of *Brittain*) we find it, during the domination of the *ROMANS* governed by their *Presets*; and if they had Kings of the *Brittish* nation, they were tributary, and had their whole authority depending on that Empire; which, as the same *Tacitus* saith, made it now their custome to have Kings the instruments of servitude: speaking of *Cogedunus*, to whom *Claudius* gave certain cities in *Brittain*, with title of King. For now after *Caesar* had opened the passage, and made tributary so much as he subdued; the rest could not long hold out, against that all encompassing State of *Rome*: although during the time of the civill wars, and change of government, from a Republicke to a Monarchie, this Countrey lay neglected the space of 30. yeares: yet, after *Augustus* had settled the sovereignty, and possist all the wide obedience of that Empire; the Princes and Cities of *Brittain* (seeing to be enforced) came in of their own accord, with their gifts and tribunes, and the rather, for that as yet, they had found no other weight of subjection, than a tollerable tribute, which it seemed, they were content to endure with the rest of their neighbours. But after *Augustus* time, when the corruptions of that State, had bred miserable inflammations in all parts of the world, the *Brittaines*, what with their owne factions, and those of the *Roman* commanders, remained in an uncertain obedience, till the time of *Claudius* the Emperour; who having much of the fume of glory, and little fire to raise it otherwhere: cast an especiall eye on this Province, to make it the pompous matter of his triumph. And, to prepare the way, without adventure of himselfe, foresees *Publius Ostorius Scapula* a great warrior, *Pro-prator* into *Brittain*, where he met with many turbulencies; and a people hardly to be driven, howsoever they might be led: yet as one who well knew his mestier; and how the first events are those which incusse a dauntingnes, or daring, imployed all meates to make his expeditions sodain, and his execution evil. Notwithstanding did *Caradocum* (one of the *Brittish* Kings) hold these great *ROMANS* work for nine yeares together, & could not be surprized, till betrayed by his own nation, he was delivered into their hands, & brought to *Rome* captive, with his wife and children, to be the subject of their triumph: whereof notwithstanding the glory was his. But *Claudius* had the honor of taking in the whole Isle of *Brittain*, to the *Roman* Empire, which though thus won, was not, till a long time after, overcome. For now the *Brittaines* (understanding the misery of their dissociation: how their submissio brought but the more oppression) colleague themselves against the *ROMANES*, taking their occasion upon the outrages, committed on the person and state of Queen *Pordicia*, widdow of *Prasutagus* king of the *cenj*, a great Prince, who (at his death) had left *Nero* his heire, & two daughters, hoping thereby to free his house from injury: but it fell out contrary; for no sooner was he dead, but the Kingdome was spoiled by the *Centurions*, his house ranfac't by slaves, his wife beaten, and his daughters ravished. Besides, the chiefe men of the *cenj* (as if all the Region had beene given in prey) were rest of their goods, and the Kings kinmen esteemed

*Nostre etate, inquit Strabo, lib. 4. Regulorum quidem Britannicorum, legationibus et officij amicitiam Augusti. Cael. consecuti, donaria in Capitolio dedicant: familiarumque Romanis, totam penitus insulam subegerunt. And at that time it seemes by Strabo, held it not worth the gadding, for that it would not quit the charge.*



as captives: with which contumely, and feare of greater mischief, they conspire with the *Trinobantes* and others (not yet inured to servitude) to resume their libertie. And first set upon the Garrisons of the *Veteran* souldiers (whom they most hated) defeated the ninth legion, whereof they slew all the foot, forced *Cerialis* the Legate and leader to flight, and put to the sword seventy thousand *Romans* and associates, inhabiting their municipall townes, *London*, *Eborac*, *Camolodunum*; before *Suetonius* Governor of the Province could assemble the rest of the dispersed forces, to make head against their Army (consisting of 120000 *Brittaines*) conducted by *Voadicia*, who (with her two daughters, brought into the field to move compassion and revenge) incites them to that noble, and manly worke of liberty: which to recover, she protests to hold her self there but as one of the vulgar (without weighing her great honour and birth) resolved either to winne or die. Many of their wives were likewise there, to be spectators and encouragers of their husbands valour; but in the end *Suetonius* got the victory with the slaughter of foure score thousand *Brittaines*; whereupon *Voadicia* poysons her selfe; and the miserable Countrey with their heaue losse, had also more weights laid upon their servitude. And yet after this, made they many other defections, and bravely struggled with the *Romans*, upon all advantages they could apprehend; but the continuall supplies, ever ready from all parts of that mighty Empire; with such, as the *Brittaines* (having no meanes, but their owne swords, in an uncomposed State, laid all open to invasion) spent their bloud in vaine. And in the end growing base with their fortune (as losing their vertue with their liberty) became utterly quailed, and miserably held downe to subjection, by the powerfull hand of foureteene Garrisons, disposed in severall limits of the Land, with their companies, consisting of sundry strange nations, computed in all to be 52 thousand foot, & 300 horse; besides 37. companies containing 28 thousand foot, and 1300 horse; which continually guarded the North parts, where that which is now *Scotland*, and obeyed not the *Romane* Empire, was excluded from the rest with a wall or trench, first raised by *Agricola*, after reedified by *Adrian*, *Severus*, and others. And in this sort continued the State of *Brittain* whilest the *Romans* held it; enduring all the calamities that a dejected nation could doe under the domination of strangers proud, greedy, and cruell: Who not onely content by all tyrannicall meanes to extort their substance; but also constrained their bodies to serve under their ensignes, when or wheresoever their quartellous ambition would expose them. And besides, they being at the will of their Rulers in their obedience, they were forced to follow them also in their rebellions. For after the election of the Emperours grew to be commonly made by the Armies, many possessing those mighty *Roman* forces here, were proclaimed *Casars*; and put forth the whole Empire. As first *Caraculus*, and after him *Alexander*, whom *Constantinus* (the associate of *Maximianus* in the Empire) at this first coming into *Brittain*, by *Ulpian* the Praetorian Prefect vanquished; with all such as tooke part with him. After that the *Caledonians*, and *Picts* from the North parts made irruptions into the State, and much afflicted the *Brittaines*, whom to repress, *Constantinus* (then sole Emperour of the West) came the second time into this Land; and in a expedition made against them, died at *York*, whether his sonne *Constantine* (a little before his death) repaired out of *Illyria*, escaping a train laid for him by *Galerius* Emperour of the East, with whom he was in the war against the *Sarmatians*; when his father came first into *Brittain* against *Alexander*. And here was he first saluted Emperour; for which it seems he much esteemed the

Camolodunum  
now Maldon.

De notitia utr.  
Imper. Pancio-  
roul.

The misery of  
the Brittaines  
under the Ro-  
mans.



De Notitia u-  
triusq; Imper.

The people of  
Brittain con-  
sumed in the  
factions of the  
Emperours.

Country, as that they gave birth to his dignity. And reordering the govern- ment thereof (for a future securitie) divides it into five Provinces to be ruled by one vice-gerent, five Rectors, two Consulars, and three Presidents. Af- ter whose time, we have no certaine and apparant marke to direct us which way the State went, till the reigne of *Valentinian* the elder, who sends *Theo- dosius* (the father of him who was after Emperour of that time) into *Brit- taine* against the irruption of the *Picts*, *Attacotti*, *Scoti*, *Saxons* & *Franci*, which of all sides invaded and spoiled the Countrey: and after *Theodosius* had by the forces of the *Batavi*, and *Heruli* cleared it, *Civilis* was sent to governe the Province, and *Dalcitius* the Army: men of faire names for good offices.

In these warres with *Theodosius* was one *Maximus*, a man borne in *Spaine*, but of *Roman* education, who after, in the time of the younger *Valentinian*, having the charge of the Army, was here proclaimed *Caesar*, and to subvert the present Emperour, transports the whole power of *Brittain*: and first in his way subdues *Gaul*, and there furnishes every place of defence with *Brit- tish* souldiers: and they say, peopled the whole Countrey of *Armorica* (now called *Brittain* in *France*) with the same nation: which yet retaines their language, in some kind to this day. And having spread one Arme to *Spain*, the other to *Germany*, embraced so great a part of the Empire, as he drave *VA- lentinian* to seeke ayde of *Theodosius*, Emperour of the East, after the van- quishment and death of his brother *Gratianus* at *Lyons*; and by this immoderate vent, both of the Garrison, and the ablest people of the Land, he dis-furnisht and left it in that impotencie, as it never recovered like power a- gaine. All those great forces he took with him, either were left in *Gaul*, or perished with him at *Aquileia*, where he was overthrowne by *Valentinian*.

And yet againe in the time of *Honorius* the Emperour, the Colony of the *Frithas* souldiers fearing the invasion of the *Vandales*, made another defe- sion, and tumultuously proclaimed Emperour, one *Mareus*, whom shortly after they slue; then *Gratianus*, who likewise within foure monthes being murtheied, they gave the title to one *Constantine*, nor so much for his me- rite, as the omination of his name. This *Constantine* taking the same course that *Maximus* did, whatsoever strength was left, or lately in any sort reco- vered, he emptied it wholly, and made himselfe of that power, as he subdued many of the Western Provinces, gave his Son *Constans* (a Monke) the title of *Augustus*, & after many fortunes, & incounters with the forces of *Honorius*, became vanquished, and executed at *Arles*. Where also perished the whole power hee brought out of *Brittain*. And so the State (having all the best strength exhausted, and none, or small supplies from the *Romans*) lay open to the rapine, and spoile of their Northerne enemies: who taking the ad- vantage of this dis-furnishment, never left till they had reduced them to ex- treme miseries: which forced them to implore the aide of *Aëtius*, praefect of *Gaul*, under *Valentinian* the third, and that in so lamentable manner, (their Embassadors in torne garments, with sand on their heads, to stirre compassion) as *Aëtius* was moved to send forces to succour them, and caused a wall to be raised upon the trench (formerly made by *Adrian* from Sea to Sea) of eight foot thick, and twelve high, inter-set with Bulwarkes, which the *Roman* souldiers, and an infinite number of *Brittains* (fitter for that work than warre) with great labour effected. And so *Aëtius* left them againe once more freed, and defended from their enemies: advising them from thence- forth to inure and employ their owne forces without any more expectation of succour from the *Romans*, who (over-wrought with other businesse) could

not

not attend affaires that lay so far off. No sooner had the enemy intelligence of the departure of these succours, but on they came (notwithstanding this fortification) battered downe the wall, overthrew the defenders, and harrowed the Countrey worse than before. Whereupon, againe, this miserable people sent to *Actius*, using these words: *To Actius thrice Consul, the sighes of the Britains*, and after thus complaine: *The barbarous enemy beates us to the Sea, the Sea beates us backe to the enemy: betwene these two kinds of deaths, we are either murdered, or drowned.* But their implorations prevailed nor, for *Actius* at that time had enough to do to keepe his own head, and *Valentinian* the Empire: which now endured the last convulsions of a dying State; having all the parts, and Provinces thereof miserably rent, and torne with the violence of strange Nations. So that this was also in the fate of *Brittaine* to be first made knowne to perish by, and with the *Roman* State: which never suffering the people of the Land to have any use, or knowledge of armes within their owne Countrey, left them (upon their owne dissolution) naked, exposed to all that would assaile them.

And so ended the *Roman* Government in *Brittaine*, which (from their first invasion by *Julius Caesar* to this *Valentinianus* the third) had continued the space of five hundred yeares. In all which time we finde but these seven *Brittish* Kings nominated to have reigned: *Theomantius, Cunobellinus, Guiderius, Arviragus, Marius, Chastus*, and lastly *Lucius*, who is crowned with immortall honour, for planting Christian Religion within this Land. All other from *Lucius* to *Vortigern*, (who succeeds this relinquishment) were *Roman* Governours.

This is briefly so much of especiall note, as I can collect out of the *Roman* History, concerning the State, and government of *Brittaine*: finding elsewhere little certainty, and from hence forth (during the short possession of this Land) farre lesse. Whereas *Gildas* the *Brittaine* complains, laying the cause on the barbarisme of their enemies, who had destroyed all their monuments, and memorials of times past. And though himselfe wrote, about fortie yeares after the invasion of the *Saxons*, and was next these times wee come now to remember, yet hath he left (in his enigmaticall passions) so small light thereof, as we discern very little thereby. Nor have the *Brittains* any honour by that antiquitie of his, which over-blacks them with such ugly deformities, as wee can see no part cleare: accusing them to be *neither strong in peace, nor faithfull in warre*: and universally casts those aspersions on their manners, as if he laboured to inveigh, not to enforce. And though no doubt there was (as ever is) in these periods of States a concurrency of disorder, & a generall loosensse of disposition that met with the fulnesse of time; yet were there no doubt, some mixtures of worth, and other notions of that age, which with after-times would have beene much pleased to have had acquaintance. But it seemes his zeale and passion (in that respect) wider than his charity, tooke up the whole roome of his understanding, to whom the reverence of antiquitie, and his title of *Sapiens* doth now give Sanctuary, and we must not presume to touch him.

Such was the State of *Brittaine* left without Armes, or order; when *Vortigern* either by usurpation or faction, became King, and is said to be the author of the first calling in, or imploying, being in the *Saxons* to make good his owne establishment; and the safetie of his Kingdome against the *Picts* and *Scots*.

The *Saxons* at this time possesse the third part of *Germany*, holding all the Countrey betwene the Rivers *Rhene*, and *Elbe*, bounded on the North by

The end of  
the Romanes  
government  
in Brittain.

Anno  
443.

Gildas de ex-  
cidio Britannie

Anno  
450.  
Vortigern calls  
in the Saxons

A description  
of the state of  
the Saxons.

Hengist and  
Horsa the Lea-  
ders of the  
Saxons.

Their first  
plantation.

Portigern is  
deposed.  
Vortimer ele-  
cted King of  
Brittain.

King Arthur.

by the *Baltique* Sea, and the *Ocean*. On the South by *Silva Hircinia*, and di-  
vided by the River *Fisurgis* into *Ostphalia*, and *Westphalia*: governed by an  
*Optimacie* of twelve Princes, with an election of a Sovereigne leader for the  
business of warre. This being so spacious, populous and neere a Countrey,  
well furnisht with shipping (which the *Brittaines* had not,) yeelded ever  
plentifull meanes to supply the undertakers of this action (which were first  
two brothers, *Hengist*, and *Horsa*) with all necessary provisions upon every  
fit occasion. After they had bin here a while as stipendaries, & finding the de-  
bilitie of Prince, and people, their number soone increased. And first they  
had the Isle of *Thanet* allowed them to inhabite, then the whole Countrey of  
*Kent* was made over to *Hengist* by trans-action, under covenant, to defend  
the Land against the *Picts*, and *Scots*. And upon the marriage of *Portigern*  
with the Daughter, or Neece of *Hengist*, an exceeding beautifull Lady,  
(brought over of purpose to worke on the dottage of a dissolute Prince)  
larger priviledges were granted: so that by this allyance, and the fertilitie of  
the Land, were drawn in so many of this populous, and military nation, that  
*Kent* in short time grew too narrow for them, and *Hengist* (to distend their  
power into other parts) advised *Portigern* to plant a Colony of them in  
the North beyond *Humber*, to be a continuall guard against all invasions  
that way. Which being granted, he sends for *Otha* his brother, and sonne *E-  
busa*, with great supplies out of *Saxony* to furnish that designe. And so came  
the *Saxons* to have first domination in *Kent*, and *Northumberland*, which  
contained all the Countrey from *Humber* to *Scotland*, or at least most thereof.

And now became they of servants, masters, to contemne their entertain-  
ours, and commit many insolencies. Whereupon the *Brittish* Nobility com-  
bine themselves, depose *Portigern* (the Author of this improvident admis-  
sion) and elect *Vortimer* his sonne, a Prince of great worth, who (whilest he  
lived, which was not long) gave them many fierce encounters: but all pre-  
vailed not, for the *Saxons* (being possesse of the principall gate of the Land,  
lying open on their owne Countrey to relieve all supplies without resistance)  
had the advantage to wear them out of all in the end. And besides force,  
they are said to have used treachery (in murdering three hundred of the  
*Brittish* Nobility) at an assembly of peace at *Amesbury*, where they tooke  
their King prisoner, and would not release him, but upon the grant of three  
Provinces more. Also the long life of *Hengist* (a politique Leader) of almost  
fortie yeares continuance, made much for the settling here of their estate:  
which yet they could not effect, but with much travell, and effusion of blood.  
For the *Brittaines* (now made martiall by long practise and battles) grew  
in the end so enraged, to see their Countrey so surprized from under their  
feete, as they sold the inheritance thereof at a very deare rate. Wherein we  
must attribute much to the worthines of their Leaders (whence the spirit of  
a people is raised) who in these their greatest actions were, especially *Ar-  
thur* the last of the *Romanes*, and *Arthur* the noblest of the *Brittaines*: A  
man in force and courage above man, and worthy to have bene a subject of  
truth to posterity, and not of fiction as *Legendary Writers* have made him;  
for whilst he stood, he bare up the sinking State of his Countrey, and is said  
to have encountred the *Saxons* in twelve set battailes: wherein he had either  
victory, or equall revenge. In the end himselfe overthrowne by treason, the  
best men consumed in the warres, and the rest unable to resist, fled into the  
mountaines, and remote deserts of the West parts of the Isle, and left all to  
the invaders, daily growing more and more upon them.

For many principall men of *Saxony* (seeing the happy success, and plan-  
tation



tation here of *Hengist*) entred likewise on diverse coasts to get for themselves, with such multitudes of people, as the *Brittaines* making head in one place were assaulted in another, and every where overwhelmed with new increasing numbers.

For after *Hengist* had obtained the Dominion of *Kent* (which from him became to be a kingdome) and *Otha*, and *Ebuse* posselt of the North-countries from *Humber* to *Scotland*; *Ella*, and his sonnes conquered the South-East parts, and began the kingdome of the South *Saxons*, containing *Sussex*, and part of *Surrey*. Then *Cerdic*, and his sonnes landed at *Portsmouth*, invadeth the South, and West parts, and began the kingdome of the West *Saxons*, which after contained the Countreies of *Hampshire*, *Barkshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire*, and *Devonshire*. And about the same time, *Vffa* invaded the North-East parts, and beganne the Kingdome of the East Angles, containing *Northfolke*, *Suffolke*, *Cambridgeshire*, and the Isle of *Ely*; *Erkenwin* began the Kingdome of the East *Saxons*, containing *Essex*, *Midlesex*, and a part of *Hartfordshire*.

The severall  
enteries made  
by the Saxons.

Having thus in a (manner) surrounded the best of the whole state of *Brittaine*; they after invaded the inner, and middle part. And *Crida* began the Kingdome of *Mercna-land*, or middle Angles, containing *Lincolnshire*, *North-hamptonshire*, *Huntingdonshire*, *Rutlandshire*, *Bedford*, *Buckingham*, *Oxfordshire*, *Cheshire*, *Derbie*, *Nottingham*, and *Staffordshire*, with parts of the shires of *Hereford*, and *Hartford*: *Warwicke*, *Shropshire*, *Lancaster*, and *Glocestershire*.

And with all these Princes, and Leaders, before they could establish their Dominions, the *Brittaines* so desperately grappled, as plant they could not, but upon destruction and desolation of the whole Country, whercof in the end they extinguished both the Religion, Lawes, Language, and all, with the people and name of *Brittaine*. Which having beene so long a Province of great honour, and benefit to the *Romane* Empire, could not but partake of the magnificence of their goodly structures, Thermes, Aquaducts, High-ways, and all other their ornaments of delight, ease, and greatnesse: all which came to be so utterly razed, and confounded by the *Saxons*, as there is not left standing so much as the ruines to point us where they were: for they being a people of a rough breeding that would not be taken with these delicacies of life, seemed to care for no other monuments but of earth, and as borne in the field, would build their fortunes onely there. Witnesse so many Intrenchments, Mounts, and *Burroughs* raised for rampes, and defences upon the wilde champions, and eminent Hills of this Isle, remaining yee as scratches made on the whole face of our Countrey, to shew the hard labour our Progenitors endured to get it for us.

The Brittaines  
utterly subdu-  
ed by the Sax-  
ons.

Which generall subversion of a State is very seldome seene: Invasion, and devastation of Provinces have often beene made, but in such sort as they continued, or recovered, with some commixtion of their own with the generation of the invaders. But in this, by reason of the vicinage, and innumeros populacie of that Nation (transporting hither both sexes) the incompatibilitie of Paganisme, and Christianitie, with the immense blood-shed on both sides, wrought such an implacable hatred, as but one Nation must possesse all. The conquest made by the *Romanes*, was not to extirpate the Natives, but to master them. The *Danes*, which afterward invaded the *Saxons*, made onely at the first depredations on the coast, and therewith for a time contented themselves. When they grew to have further interest, they sought not the subversion, but a community, and in the end a Sovereignty

of.



The absolute  
subversion of  
Brittain, con-  
curred with  
the generall  
mutation of  
other States  
of the world.

Lombardie so  
called of the  
Longbeards:

of the State, matching with the women they here found, bringing few of their owne with them. The *Normans* dealt the like with the Province of *Nuestria* in *France*, who also after they had the Dominion, and what the victory would yeeld them in *England*, were content to suffer the people here to have their being, intermatched with them, and so grew in short space into their bodie. But this was an absolute subversion, and concurred with the universall mutation, which about that time happened in all these parts of the world; whereof, there was no one Countrey or Province but changed bounds, inhabitants, customes, language, and in a manner, all their names.

For upon the breaking up of the *Romane* Empire (first devided into two, and then by faction disioynted in each part) imploying the forces of many strange Nations to fortifie their sides, were made so wide ruptures in the North, and North-east bounds of that Empire, as there burst out infinite streames of strange people that over-ran, and laid open the world againe to libertie, other formes, and limits of State: whereupon followed all these transigrations, and shiftings of people from one Countrey to another. The *French* and *Burgognons* dispossessed the *Gauls*, and gave the name of *France*, and *Burgogne* to their Province. The *Gauls* transplanted themselves on some coasts of *Spaine*, where they could finde, or make thir habitation: and of them had *Gallicia* and *Portugall* their name. The *Huns* and *Anari* subdued *Pannonia*, and thereto gave the name of *Hungary*. The *Longbeards* a people of *Germany*, bordered upon the *Saxons*, entred *Italy*, got the greatest part thereof, and left there their name to a principall Province, remaining to this day. The *Goths* and *Vandales*, miserably afflicted the rest, sackt *Rome*, and after subdued, peopled, and possessed *Spaine*. So that it was not in the fate of *Brittaine* alone to be undone, but to perish, almost, with the generall dissolution of other States, which happened about the same age.

Wherefore, we are now here to begin with a new Body of people, with a new State, and government of this Land, which retained nothing of the former, nor held other memory but that of the dissolution thereof: where scarce a Ckie, Dwelling, River, Hill, or Mountaine, but changed names. *Brittaine* it selfe was now no more *Brittaine*, but *New Saxony*, and shortly after, either of the *Angles* (the greatest people of the invaders) or of *Hengist*, called *Engist Land*, or *England*. The distance made by the rage of warre, lay so wide betweene the conquering and the conquered people, that nothing either of Lawes, Rites, and Customes, came to passe over unto us from the *Brittaines*: nor had our Ancesters any thing from them, but their Countrey: which they first devided into eight Kingdomes: all which continued to the last extermination of the *Brittaines* under *Capetius* their King, with whom they were driven over *Seaverne*, 136. yeares after the first enter-tainment of *Hengist*. And soone after, the *Saxons*, encroching upon each ther parts, or States, (which never held certaine bounds) and the stronger usurping upon their weaker neighbours, reduced them to seven Kingdomes, that of the *Northanimbrians*, being made one of two: and then to fixe (the *West Saxons* taking in the Kingdome of *Sussex* to their dominion.) And so it continued about 250. yeares.

At the first, by the space of 150. yeares they were meereley governed by their owne Lawes, without mixture of any other. But after *Augustine* the Monke, sent with forty others by Pope *Gregory*, had converted *Ashelbert*, King of *Kent*, and some other, they all shortly after received the Christian faith, and had their Lawes and Rites ordered according to Ecclesiasticall constitutions. Many of their Kings, when their sterne asperitie grew mol-

lified

lified by humility of the Religion, began to raise presently so many and great monuments of their pietie, in all parts of the Land, as if they strived who should exceede therein, and had no other glory: Divers of them renounced their temporall dignities for spirituall solitude, and became Monkes: as *Aetheldred*, and *Kinred*, Kings of *Mercna-land*; *Offa*, King of the East Saxons; *Kadwalla* and *Ina*, Kings of the West Saxons; *Eadbert* King of Northumbrians, &c.

At length the Kingdomes of *Mercna-Land*, and *West Saxe*, so farre overgrew the others in power, as betweene them two it lay, who should have all. For *Ina*, a martiall, wise, and religious Prince, governing the West Saxons, first advanced that Kingdome to a preheminencie, and did much to have subdued *Mercna-Land*: but yet *Offa*, (afterward King thereof) was in faire possibility to have swallowed up both the West Saxons, and all the rest of the Kingdomes. For whilst he lived, which was in the time of *Carolus Magnus*, (with whom he held league and amity) he was esteemed as the especial King of the Land. But the many wrongs he did, and the murther he committed in his house upon *Aethelbert* King of the East Angles, coming to him under publique faith, and a Suiter to his Daughter, were justly revenged upon his posterity, which after him declining, in the end lost all. For *Egbert* descended from *Inegild*, the brother of *Ina*, attaining the Kingdome of the West Saxons, began the way to bring all the rest into subjection. And being a Prince, who (from a private fortune, wherein he lived below, with, and not above other men) had learned sufferance and moderation; and by the estate of an exiles experience, grew to have great advantage over the time, and others borne fortunes, and rose by these meanes.

*Ina*, his great Uncle, renouncing the world, with his Kingdome, and dying without issue, left the succession imbroiled, and out of the direct royall lyne as he found it. So that those foure Kings of the West Saxons, who severally succeeded him; *Ethelard*, *Sigibert*, *Kenulph* and *Britric*, were rather Kings by election, and their owne power, than by right of descent. And *Britric* knowing the weakenesse of his title, and the much promising forwardnesse of *Egbert* with his opiniuitie in bloud, to the former Kings, practized to have him made away; which hee perceiving, fled first to *Offa*, King of *Mercna-land*, where finding little security, in regard *Britric* had (to strength himselfe) married the daughter of the King, he escaped into France, and there remained till the death of *Britric*, and then returning, obtaines that Kingdome of the West Saxons; subdues *Cornewall*, inhabited by the Brittaines; and after sets upon *Bernulph*, newly invested in the Kingdome of *Mercna-land*; a State (by the rupture of the Royall line) likewise growne tottering. For *Egbert*, the sonne of *Offa*, enjoyed but foure moneths, the inheritance of his fathers infinitinity: whereby that Kingdome descended collaterally to *Kenulph*, who left it to *Kenelme* a childe, after murdered by his sister *Quinred*. *Ceolulph*, brother to *Kenulph*, succeeding, after his first yeares reigne, was expelled by *Bernulph*, and *Bernulph* by *Egbert*, who made that Kingdome tributarie to the West Saxons, as hee did after that of the South, and East Saxons, with the Kingdome of *Northumberland*. And by this meanes (in a manner) attained to a soveraignty of the whole Country. But the Danes imbroiling his peace in the end of his reigne, held him backe from enjoying such a fullnesse of power, as that we may account him the absolute Monarch of the Kingdome; nor yet any of his successors, so long as the Danes continued unsubdued. For they having first made irruptions into the State, in the reigne of the late King *Britric* (his predecessor) ever af-

*Egbert* obtained the kingdome, which by him was named England.

Anno  
802.

The description  
of the  
Danes.

ter held a part thereof, and afflicted the whole, till they had attained the absolute sovereignty to themselves.

The *Danes* were a people of *Germany*, next neighbours to the *Saxons*, and of language and manners little different: Possessing besides *Cimbria Chersonesus* (now called *Denmarke*) all the Isles adjacent in the *Baltique* Sea, and sometimes the Kingdome of *Norway*: A mighty, rough, and martiall Nation; strong in shipping, through their exercise of Piracy, and numerous in people for all suppliments. Who perceiving here the happy successe, and plantation of the *Saxons*, were drawne with desire and emulation, likewise, to put in for a part; the coast lying open to invasion, and the many divisions of the Land, with the discord of Princes, making them an easie way thereto. So that in a manner, as soone as the *Saxons* had ended their travelles with the *Brittains*, and drew to setting of a Monarchy, the *Danes*, as if ordained to revenge their slaughters, began to assault the with the like afflictions. The long, the many, and horrible encounters between these two fierce Nations, with the bloudshed, and infinite spoiles committed in every part of the Land, are of so disordered and troublous memory, that what with their asperous name, together with the confusion of place, times, and persons, intricately delivered, is yet a warre to the Reader to over-looke them. And therefore to favour mine owne paines and his, who shall get little profite thereby, I passe them over.

After the death of *Egbert*, *Aethelwolph*, his sonne succeeded in the State, with the title of King of the West *Saxons* onely, and was a Prince more addicted to devotion than action: as may be seene by his donation of the tenth part of his Kingdome (with exemption of all regall service) for the service of God: besides an annuities of 3. hundred markes, to be bestowed in pious uses at *Rome*; whither he went twice in person, with his yongest son *Alfred*, whom he especially loved; and whom (Pope *Leo* the fourth) annointed a King, at eleven yeares of age, as if divining of his future fortune.

Vpon his last journey, and whole yeares stay at *Rome*; *Aethelbald*, his eldest sonne, combin'd with the Nobility of the West *Saxons*, to keepe him out, and deprive him utterly of his government, and wrought so, as notwithstanding the great love his people bare him, hee was brought to yeeld up the Kingdome of the West *Saxons*, to *Aethelbald*, and retaine onely the Kingdome of the East Angles, (a State of farre lesse dignity) to himselfe. After which, reigning but two yeares, *Aethelbald* succeeded in the whole, & with great infamy, marrying his fathers widdow, *Judith*, daughter to *Charles le Chauve*, King of *France*, enjoyed it but two yeares and a halfe; when *Aethelred*, the second sonne of *Aethelwolph*, entred to the government, which he held five yeares in continuall conflict with the *Danes*. After whom,

**A**L F R E D, the mirror of Princes (made a King before he had a Kingdome) at two and twentie yeares of his age (and in a yeare wherein eight severall battailes had bene given to the *Danes* by the *Saxons*) began his troublous reigne, wherein he was perpetually in warre, either against his enemies, or else against vices.

First, after a great danger to lose all, he was forced to yeeld up a part of the Kingdome (which was that of the East Angles, and *Northumberland*) to *Guthrum*, leader of the *Danes*, whom (upon his baptizaton) hee made his confederate, and owner of that by right, which before hee usurped by violence.

And notwithstanding all the continuall, and intricate toyle hee endured amidst the clattering and horror of armes, he performed all noble actions

of

Anno  
872.  
*Alfred.*



of peace, collecting first the Lawes of his Predecessors, and other the Kings of the Saxons (as those of *Offa*, King of *Mercna-land*, and *Aetbert* the first Christian English King) of which, by the grave advice and consent of his States assembled, he makes choise of the fittest, abrogates those of no use, and addes other, according to the necessity of the time.

King Alfred first made collection of the Saxon Lawes.

And for that the wildnesse of warre, by reason of these perpetuall conflicts with strangers, had so let out the people of the Land to unlawfull riots, and rapine, that no man could travell without convoy: he ordained the division of Shires, Hundreds, and Tithings, that every English man (now the generall name for all the Saxons) living legally, might be of a certaine Hundred, or Tithing, out of which, he was not to remove without securitie: and out of which, if he were accused of any crime, he was likewise to produce sureties for his behaviour; which if he could not finde, he was to endure the punishment of the Law. If any malefactor before, or after he had put in suretie escaped, all the Tithing, or Hundred were fined to the King, by which meanes he secured Travellers, and the peace of his Countrey.

The first division of the land into Shires, Hundreds and Tithings.

The opinion he had of learning made him often complaine the want thereof, imputing it amongst his greatest misfortunes to have beene bred without it, & to have his Kingdome so utterly destitute of learned men, as it was, through the long continuance of this barbarous warre: which made him send out for such, as were any way famous for letters, and having gotten them, he both highly preferred them, and also (as they doe, who know not too much themselves) held them in great veneration: Rareness then, setting a higher price on meaner parts, than after plenty did on more perfections. *Grimbald*, and *Scotus*, he drew out of *France*: *Affer* (who wrote his life) out of *Wales*, other from other parts: he was the first lettered Prince we had in *England*, by whose means and encouragements publique Schooles had here, either their reviving or beginning.

Publique Schooles first erected.

Those wants of his owne, made him take a greater care for the education of his sonnes, with whom were bred under most diligent masters almost all the children of the Nobility within his Kingdome.

All his owne time he could cleare from other businesse, he bestowed in study, and did himselfe, and caused others to translate many things into the vulgar tongve, which he laboured (it seemes) much to adorne; and especially affected the Saxons meeters, whereby to glorifie that of a King, he attained the title of a Poet.

W. B. W. B.

The naturall day, consisting of 24. houres, he cast into three parts: whereof eight he spent in prayer, study, and writing; eight in the service of his body; and eight in the affaires of his State. Which spaces (having then no other engine for it) he measured by a great waxe light, devided into so many parts, receiving notice by the Keeper thereof, as the severall houres passed in the burning.

With as faire an order did he proportion his revenues, equalling his liberalities to all his other expences, whereof to make the current run more certaine, hee tooke a precise notice of them, and made a survey of the Kingdome, and had all the particulars of his Estate registred in a booke, which he kept in his Treasury at *Winchester*. And within this circumference of order, he held him in that irregularity of fortune, with a weak disposition of body, and reigned 27. yeares, leaving his sonne *Edward*, a worthy successor to maintaine the line of Noblenesse thus begun by him.

The first survey of the Kingdome.

EDWARD

Anno  
900.

Edward Senior.

**E**DWARD, though he were far inferiour to him in learning, were much beyond him in power: for he had all the Kingdome of *Mercna-land* in possession, whereof *Alfred* but had the homage, and as some write, held sovereignty over the East Angles, and *Northumbrians*: though we finde (in the joynt Lawes that he, and *Guthrum* made together) they held the same confederation fore concluded by *Alfred*. He also subdued the *Brittaines* in *Wales*: fortified, and furnished with Garri- sons divers townes in *England* that lay fit to prevent the incursions of the *Danes*: and was all his reigne of 23 yeares in continuall action, and ever before hand with fortune. And surely his father, he, and many that succeeded during this *Danisque* warre, though they lost their ease, wonne much glory and renowne. For this affliction held them so in, as having little out-lets, or leasure for ease, and luxury; they were made the more pious, just, and careful in their government: otherwise it had beene impossible to have held out against the *Danes*, as they did, being a people of that power, and undantable stomacke, as no fortunk could deterre, or make to give over their hold. And the imbecility of some unactive Prince, at that time had beene enough to have let them quite into the whole: which may be the cause, that in the suc- cession of some of these Kings, were certaine ruptures made out of course, in respect of their ablenesse. As first, after the death of this renowned King *Edward Senior*, his Son

Anno  
924.

*Athelstan* a Bastard pre- ferred before the lawfull sonne.

**A**THELSTAN of full yeares, and spirit, was (notwithstanding the bracke in his birth) preferred before his legitimate son *Edmond* under age: Nor did *Athelstan* disappoint the Kingdome in this worke, but performed all noble parts of Religion, Iustice, and Magnanimi- tie, and after sixteene yeares reigne died without issue.

Anno  
940.

*Edmond*.

Anno  
950.

*Edred* or *El- dred*, *Edwin*.

**E**DMOND his brother succeeded him: A Prince likelie to have equalled the worth of his Predecessors, had he not untimely pe- nished by the hand of a base Out-law in his owne house, at a fe- stivall, amidst his people that deerely loved, and honoured him, And though he left two Sonnes, yet was

Anno  
950.

*Edred* or *El- dred*, *Edwin*.

**E**DRED his brother preferred to the Kingdome before them: who (making no variation from the line of Vertue continued by his A ncestors) was held perpetually in worke by the *Danes* during the whole time of his reigne, which was of ten yeares.

Anno  
959.

*Edgar*.

**E**DWIN his Nephew, the eldest son of *Edmond*, succeeded him (an irregular youth) who interrupting the course of goodnesse, lived dissolutely, and died wishedly. Otherwise had *Edgar* (the other son of *Edmond*) continued that rare succession of good Princes, without the interposition of any ill, which is not in the Fate of a Kingdome.

**E**DGAR, though he were but sixteene yeares of age, yet capea- ble of counsell, was by the grave advice of his Bishops (who in that time of zeale held especially the raines on the hearts, and af- fections of men) put, and directed in the way of goodnesse, and became a most heroicall Prince.

*Edgar* pro- vides for ship- ping.

Amongst other his excellent actions of government, he provided a mightie Navy to secure his coasts from invasjon; which now he found (though late) was the only meane to keepe out those miseries from within, that thus la- mentably afflicted the Land ever before negligent, or not inured to Sea-af- faires. For when the *Romans* first subdued the same, there was no shipping but a few small vessels made of wicker, and covered with hides: whereby they, and after the *Danes* (both mighty, as those times gave, in shipping) found that

that easie footing they had. Yet *Ethelred* is said to have provided a strong Na-  
vie, about the year 840. And *Alfred* thirty or forty years after did the  
like. But either now dis-used, or consumed by the enemy; *Edgar* re-edifies,  
and sets forth a Fleet consisting (as some write) of 1600. saile, others a farre  
greater number; and those he devides, and places in foure parts of the  
Realme, making his progresse yearly, with part of his mighty Navy, round  
about the whole Isle, whereof he assumed the title of King.

And to reduce it to one name, and Monarchie, he was intituled King of all  
*Albion*, as testifies his Charter granted to the Abby of *Malmesbury*, in  
these words: *Ego Edgarus totius Albionis Rastius; nec non Maritimarum, seu*  
*insularum Regum circum habitantium, &c.* For he having first of all other  
made peace with the *Danes*, and granted them quiet co-habitation through  
all his Dominions; had the Sovereignty over them: And *Kenneth*, King of  
*Scots* did him homage, whether for *Cumberland*, and *Westmerland* given  
to that Crowne by King *Edmund* his father; or for his whole Kingdome; I  
cannot say. And five Kings of *Wales* did the like for their Counrey, and  
came all to his Court at *Cardiffe*.

So that he seemes the first, and most absolute Monarch of this Land, that  
hitherto we finde: The generall peace that held all his time, honoured his  
name with the Title of *Pacificus*; and rendred his Kingdome (never before  
acquainted with the glory of quietnesse) very flourishing. But as if the same  
had beene given to the wind, and not to use (like a short calme betwixt stormes)  
it lasted but little beyond his reigne of sixteene yeares: being too short  
to close the dessevered joints of a commixed Kingdome, which was  
onely, to have beene the worke of time; and that none of these late Princes  
(who were best like to have advanced, and confirmed the State of a Monar-  
chie) were ordained to have. But all (as if things would another way) were  
put off from their ends, by their untimely deaths: as was this glorious young  
Prince, in the two and thirtieth yeare of his age: leaving his sonne *Edward*,  
a childe, to undergoe the miseries of non-age, to be made a sacrifice for am-  
bition, and a Saint by persecution, through the hand of a step-mother; who  
to advance her own sonne *Ethelred*, brake in over the bounds of Nature and  
right, to make his way; and is said, her selfe to have murdered him, com-  
ming to her house, estrained, in hunting, and discompanied, in the Isle of  
*Purbecke*.

*Ethelred.*

**B**UT *Ethelred*, as if ill set, prospered not on this ground, the en-  
trance to whose reigne was blood, the middle, miserie, and the  
end, confusion. They write, *Saint Dunstan* Preaching at his  
Coronation, prophetically (long told him) of the calamities  
would follow this transgression. Saying, *For as this King*  
*aspired to the Crowne, by the death of thy brother, murdered by thy mother:*  
*Thus saith the Lord: The sword shall never depart from thy house, raising against*  
*thee all the dayes of thy life, slaying the life of thy soule, till the Kingdome be trans-*  
*ferred to another, whose nation and language, the people shall not know. Nor shall*  
*thy sonne, nor the son of thy illegitimate mother, with her Counsellors be exalta-*  
*ed, but by long wronge time.* And this whether so uttered or not, was ratified  
in the event. For either this unjust disordering the succession; or the concu-  
rence of hidden causes meeting with it, so wrought, as this late begun Mo-  
narchy fell quite asunder, and began the occasion of two Conquests by for-  
eigne Nations, within the space of fiftie yeares.

A most usefull  
progresse.

He reigned  
16. yeares.

Saint Edward.

Anno  
975.

Anno  
978.

Two conquests  
of this King-  
dome in fiftie  
yeares.



The spoiles  
made by the  
Danes.

The original  
of Dane gelt,  
the first im-  
position laide  
upon the king-  
dome.

hew's mark

on the

272

on the

872

the original  
of Dane gelt,  
the first im-  
position laide  
upon the king-  
dome.

For the *Danes*, having now bene so long inmates with the *English*, dis- spread over all parts by intermatching with them, and multiplying with the late peace and Confederations, had their party (though not their rule) greater than ever: so that this opportunity of a yong and untried Prince, in a new and brangling State, drew over such multitudes of other of the same Nation, as every Coast and part of the Land, were miserably made the open rodes of spoile and sackage: in such sort as the State knew not where to make any certaine head against them: for if encountered in one place, they assailed another, and had so sure intelligence what, and where all preparations were raised, as nothing could be effected available to quail them: Whereupon *Ethelred*, in the end, was faine, seeing he could not prevaile with the sword, to assaile them with money, and bought a peace for 10000. pounds: which God wot, proved after, a very deere penny worth to the common wealth, shewing the seller thereof, how much was in his power, and the buyer, at how bad a rate his necessity was to be served; and yet not sure of his bargain, longer than the Contractor would. Who having found the benefite of this market, raised the price thereof almost every year. And yet had not *Ethelred* what he paid for: the Land in one part or other, never free from spoile and invasion; but rather the more now oppressed, both by the warre, and this taxation. Which was the first we finde in our *Annales*, laide upon the Kingdome, and with heavey grievance raised in a proore distressed State, continuing many ages, till the occasion was extinct: And in the end, (though in another name) became the usuall supplicium, in the dangers of the Kingdome, and the occasions of Princes.

And hereby *Ethelred* both enlarged the meanes, and desire of the enemy, so that at length, came *Swane*, King of *Denmarke*, and *Anlaf*, King of *Norway*, in person, as it likewise to receive him; for committing outrage; and were both returned with great summes, and *Anlaf* of a milder disposition, with Baptisme. These calamities from abroad, were made more, by the disloyalties at home, faith and respect (being seldom found safe in lost fortunes) held not in most of the principall men employed in the defence. *Aelfricke*, Admirall of the Navie, is said to have given intelligence of all Sea preparations, and delappointed that worke. The Earles *Fram*, *Frishtig*, *Godwin*, and *Turkelle* descended of *Danish* progeny, and of greatest command, deceived the Armies by Land, and were the authors of discouragement to the people they led. *Edric* Earle of *Mare-land*, after them made Generall of the Kings forces, is branded with everlasting ignominy, and the title of *Faile*, for his barbarous disloyalty, frustrating all attempts, wherein hee was employed.

*Walred* a Noble man, for his misdemeanour outlawed, made depredations on the coasts with twenty ships, & was the cause that fourescore men sent to take him in, were utterly consumed. This defection of the Nobility, howsoever it might be by their owne discontent, emulation, corruption, or affliction; is laid to the pride of *Ethelred*, whom yet we finde more unfortunate than weak, howsoever they have set his marke, and neglected no occasion to make resistance and preparations against all events, bringing after his affaires, to the very point of dispatch, and yet put by, at an instant from all, as if nothing went with him, but his will to doe worthily: which howsoever it were, (besides the misery to lose) he must have that which accompanies infelicity, *Blame* and *Reproach*. Though the many and desperate barailles hee made, and good constitutions for the government; the provisions to supply all important occasions, shew, that he was not much behind the best Princes, but only in fortune.

By

By the example of *Eggar* his Father, he procured a mighty Navie; causing of every three hundred and ten Hide, or Plough-land throughout the Kingdom, a Shippe to be built, and of every eight, a Corflet to be found: Yet all this shipping stood him in little head, but was either quash't with tempest, consumed with fire by the enemy, or otherwise made unlesfull by neglect, or ignorance: whereby the hope and infinite charge of the State were disappointed. Famine, and mortality, the attendants of warre, with strange inundations, wrought likewise their part; as if conspirators of destruction, all concurred to make a dismall season.

Many yeares it was not, ere *Swaine* King of *Danes*, returned to raise a-gaine new summes, by new afflictions; and tormenting here this poore turmoiled people, more than ever, receives a fee for bloodshed, to the summe of 8000 pounds, granted in the generall assembly of the States at *London*; and a peace, or rather paction of servitude concluded; with quiet cohabitation, use of like liberties, and a perfect union betweene the two Nations, confirmed by oathes of either part, and hostages delivered of ours.

But this as a breathing time, scarce held out the yeare: When the occasion of greater mischiefs was given by a universall massacre of the *Danes* suddenly here contrived: and effected by the Kings commandement, upon the suggestion of *Huna*, a great Commander, and a violent Warriour of that time: Urging the insolencie of the *Danes*, that now grown haughty with this peace, committed many outrages, violating the Wives and Daughters of great men, with many other intollerable disorders.

Such, and so suddaine was the generall execution of this act, throughout all parts of the Kingdom at one instant, as shewed the concurrence of an inveterate rankor, and incompatibility of these two nations, impossible to be conjoynded: So that neither Temples, Altars, Supplications, nor any band of alliance, were availeable to save them from slaughter. Wherein to incense the more their King, *Gumild*, his sister, a woman of masculine courage, who had a little before received Christendome, a mediator and pledge of the peace, having first her husband and sonne slaine in her sight, rather with a threatening, than appaled countenance, met her death, making imprecation for revenge, and foretelling her blood would, as it did, cost *England* deere.

Soone was the notice of this enormous act given to *Swaine*, and as soone armed with rage and power, re-entred he the Kingdom, having now a fairer shew to doe foully, than ever: wrong had made him a right, who had none before: and the people of the Land now so forward to maintaine their acts, as commit it, rather were content to give him the possession of their Country, than that he should winne it: the greatest part of the Kingdom submitting themselves unto him; onely the Citie of *London*, which *Æthelred* held fortified, made noble resistance till he left them; and conveyed himselfe first into the Isle of *Wight*, and after into *Normandy*, whither he had sent for *Emma* his Queene; with her two sons, *Alfrid*, and *Edward* before, fro the rage of this tempest. But within two moneths he was recalled home by the people of *England* upon the death of *Swaine*, who at the point to have bin crowned King, and had generally taken hostages and oathes of fealty, died suddenly, leaving his son *Knut* to succeed, & accomplish what he intended.

*Æthelred* returning was soone furnisht with an Army, lets upon *Knut* in *Lindsey*, where he lay with his Fathers shipping, and Hostages, and drave him to take the seas: wherewith enraged, making about to *Sandwich*, he miserably mangled, and dismembred those hostages, and so sent them home: himself, with the spoiles his father & he had gotten, returned to his country,

The massacre  
of the *Danes*.

Anno  
1002.

*Gumild* slaine.

*Swaine* wins  
*England*  
*Æthelred* flies  
into *Norman-*  
*die*.

*Swaine* d. a. h.

*Æthelred* re-  
turnes.

Knut returns.

Ethelred's death.

Edmond Ironside sonne to Ethelred, by his first wife Eadgifu.

Anno  
1016.

Edmond's single combat with Knute.

Peace concluded.

to make greater preparations for the prosecution of his purpose. *Ethelred* in the meane time, to increase the summe of revenge, with more wrath at a generall assembly at *Oxford*, caused many of the *Danish* Nobilitie to be murdered: Among which were *Sigifrith* and *Marchar*, Earles of *Northumbria*, whom the false *Edric* (who had a hand on each side for mischief) inviting to his lodging, under pretence of feasting, barbarously caused to be slaine: their followers, after they had so long as they could desperately defended themselves and their masters, fled into a Church, where they were with the same brunt. *Knut*, armed with the greatest of his owne and neighbours powers made his confederates, landed againe, within the yeare, at *Sandwich*, and without resistance, had all the West parts rendred unto him, with pledges of their obedience, and furnishment with horse and armour. Here the false *Edric* leaves his Liege-lord and yeelds up forty ships, and his perjur'd Faith to *Knut*. *Ethelred*, languishing in minde and body, *Edmond* his sonne, surnamed *Ironside* (to oppose youth to youth) was employed against this rabious invador. A Prince worthy of a better time, and had he found Faith, had made it so, and delivered his Country at that turne, from the worst of miseries, the conquest by strangers.

## Knut. Edmond Ironside.



**B**UT now upon the death of *Ethelred* (whose 37 yeares reigne, shewes that infelicity shall have time too much, and happinesse too little.) *Knut* was by most of the Clergy and Nobility chosen King: onely the city of *London*, with some of the Nobility thereabout, made election of *Edmond*, and furnished him with that power, as thereby, with the courageous ardour of his youth (which commonly is most in the first attempts) hee had the better in three imminent battels, within three moneths, and had likewise obtained the fourth at *Essenden* (likely to have bene the last with the *Danes*) but that the disloyall *Edric* (late renouncing his new Lord) seeing *Edmonds* part in possibilitie to prevaile) againe betraied his trust, and withdrew himselfe, and the charge he had, to the enemy. This farall battell lost *England*: here perished the best flower of honour it then had: Here amongst the rest was slaine, *Kilil*, an Earle of *Essex*, of ever memorable worth, who had long stood up for the Kingdome, and in the time of *Swaine*, was the first that shewed that there was hope and possibilitie to quaille the enemy, had there bene an union in loyalty.

From this bloody worke, *Edmond* escapes to *Gloucester*, to recollect new forces; nor was he so forsaken with this fortune, but he soone recovered another army, to re-assaile the enemy, that might be idle upon this victory. But *Knut* as provident in the prosecution of his businesse, as fortunate therein, makes after: Here when both Armies were at the point to encounter, a motion of peace was propounded: Some say the two Kings, by single combat consented to decide their fortunes, and the over-commer to take all: and that (in an Isle of the River *Severne*, their Armies, on either shore, spectators of the act) they tried the mastery for the prize of a Kingdome. After long and equall fight, finding each other worth, they cast away their weapons, embraced, and concluded the peace. But howsoever, it seemes (both sides tied with the misery of a consuming warre, never like to be ended, but by the utter extirpation of the one, and the danger of the other, and incertainty of the future) were easily perswaded to embrace a present agreement,



ment, which was made, by parting *England* betwixt them two, and confirmed by Oath and Sacrament: putting on each others Apparell, and Armes, as a ceremony to expresse the attonement of their mindes, as if they made transfusion of their persons each to the other. *Knute* became *Edmund*, and *Edmund* *Knute*. A fatal exchange; for so free and magnanimous a Prince as *Edmund*: who indeed, was now no more himselfe; and being but halfe a King, was in few dayes after, none: as makes this peace shew fouler than warre: for that avowed him for life, this exposed him naked to death, which was shortly after treacherously given him at *Oxford*; some say, by the son of *Edric* (as if to shew he would be the heire of his father also in Treason) whereby both the hope, and the other halfe of *England* were utterly lost, as determinable with his reigne; which (with all wee have else of his magnanimous actions) tooke up scarce the circuit of one whole yeare: and yet had that beene space enough for glory (whose measure is to be taken rather by the profundity, than the length, which seldome holds long and even) could he have had that cleere: And better for his renowne, to have died at the battell of *Essendon* with *England*, than condescended to have made it halfe *Denmarke*.

*Eng* and divided betwene them,

The death of King *Edmund* Ironside at *Oxford*.

Knute.

Anno 1018.

*Knute* the first Denique King.

83000. pounds paid to King *Knute* for evacuation of Strangers.

*Edward* married to *Agatha* the Queen of *Hungary* sister.

Henry

**B**Y this meanes, *Knute* attained the absolute dominion of the whole Kingdome; which hee governed with better Iustice then he got it, conforming his native roughnesse, to a more civill, and regular fashion of life: and to have *England* see, that now he was hers; he sends away his Navy, and stipendary soldiers home to their countries, and puts himselfe wholly upon this people, taking the way of mildnesse a better means for his establishment, than force: but the Land paid for the remuneration of his people, and this evacuation of strangers, 83000 pounds of silver, which he rather consented to do at once, than to have them a daily burthen, to pester the State for ever.

At his first comming to the Crowne, he sought to rid himselfe, as well of his friends, as of those that might prove his enemies. *Edric*, who came first to salute him sole King of *England* (as if to tell, that he made him so) he caused his head to be set upon the highest part of the Tower of *London*; therein performing his promise, of advancing him above any Lord of the Land, and thereby discharged himselfe of such a debt; which, though he should have paid, would never yet be held fully cleered; giving a generall satisfaction thereby to the people, that rejoyced to see Treason so justly rewarded. Like compensation had shortly after, the Earles *Turkill*, and *Brick*, who being banished the Land, were executed upon their arrivall in *Denmarke*. But the love, and high opinion of Iustice he got in these, were lost againe in those actions, wherein he took counsell onely of his feares, for the extirpation of all those of the Royall blood of *England*; As of *Edwin*, and *Edward* the sonnes of the late King *Edmund* (to whom appertained the moiety of the Kingdome by contract) and of *Edwin* his brother; which three, hee sent to be murdered abroad, to beguile the rumour at home: But which is strange; those times, though rough, afforded not yet an instrument for the execution of his desire: and all these Princes were preserved, and conveyed out of danger by those, who should have made them away. The two last were bred by *Salomon*, King of *Hungary*, where *Edward* (surviving his brother) married *Agatha* sister to the Queene (and daughter to the Emperour

His erection  
of Churches,  
& of Church  
government.

Henry the second) by whom he had two sonnes, *Edmond*, and *Edgar*, daughters, *Margaret*, and *Christian*.

*Alfred*, and *Edward*, sonnes of King *Ethelred*, by *Emme*, were preserved by *Richard*, Duke of *Normandy* their Voele, and so lay out of his way. His private injustice (which often may be more in compassion, than hurt to the State) he sought to recompence with all publique satisfactions, repairing the naufrage of the common-wealth (made by the rage of warre) both in ornament and order: erecting Churches and Monasteries with large patents of provisions, both for the expiation of his inhumanities fore-committed, & to memorize the places of his victories with his thankfulness to God. The Constitutions Ecclesiasticall and Civile, divulged into the language of that time, testifie his tender pietie, and care of Iustice; and are so full of religious admonitions, as it seemes he held, the best means to have Laws observed, was, by having them first inacted in the consciences of men. Amongst others, he inflicted exact punishment on all intemperances of his people, and offences committed against publique manners. Severe he was, but not cruell; few of his lawes sanguinary, as being not the custome of the time, which though rough, yet found meanes to maintaine publique manners; without that luctuall remedy of blood. No punishments Capitall, unlesse conspiracies; the rest were all pecuniary mulcts, banishments, bondage or imprisonment. To shew his clemency, this (amongst many) is one example: there was a law, that *Whosoever had committed theft, and the goods found in his house, all his family were made bond, even to the childe in the cradle*: This hee abrogates as most unjust, and ordaines: *That onely the malefactor, and such as should aide him, should indure the punishment, and that the wife (unlesse the thing stolne were found under her locke) should not be guilty of her husbands offence*.

Thus was he to his people, with whom, he is said to have so well cleared himselfe (howsoever he did with God) that he became King of their affections, as well as of their Country. And to maintaine this opinion, hee did many popular acts, : as first of all Rites of Honour and reverence to the memory of the late King *Edmond*, his confederate: besides the executing of all such as could be found to have had any hand in that murther. Then married he here at home, *Emme*, late wife to King *Ethelred* (though it were more for his honour, than hers, to accept his bed, that had beene the persecuter of her husband and children,) whereby he held the Duke of *Normandy*, from attempting any thing for his Nephewes, in regard, his sister might have other by him.

Having thus established this mighty Kingdome, occasion prepares him another. The people of *Norway*, contemning the debilitie of their King, and conspiring to depose him, grew into faction: whereupon he fastens; and with the great forces he brought out of *England*, the might of money, and high estimation of his worthinesse, so prevailed, as he soone obtained that Kingdome, and was now the most renowned and potent Prince in all these parts of the world: intituled, King of *England*, *Denmarke*, and *Norway*.

Here withall grew his magnificence, as wide as his power, and was especially extended to the Church, which he laboured most to gratifie, either for the conscience of his deedes, or that his people (generally addicted to devotion) might be made the more his. And holding it not enough to powre out his immense bounty here within the Land, seekes to make *Rome* also feeble the fulnesse thereof, whither he went in person, and performed many workes of charitie and honour; both there, and in all his voyage. He freed the

Knut King of  
England, Den-  
marke, and  
Norway.

the Saxons schoole, his predecessor of England had founded, from all im-  
position, as he did likewise all straight and passages, where travellers were  
with rigor constrained to pay toll.

Of his entertainment at Rome with the Pope, Conrade the Emperour,  
and divers other Princes of the Christian world, himselfe writes to the Bi-  
shops and Nobility of England, and withall exhorts them very powerfully  
to have an especial regard to the due administration of Justice, so all his  
subjects alike, without doing the least wrong for his gain, having no neede  
to advance his revenue by sinne: And also charges them to see all Church  
seat and benefice fully cleared before his returne.

The active vertue of this Prince, being the mightiest, and most absolute  
Monarch that ever yet appeared in this Kingdome, the author of sect, and  
fount of a new Governement, which, as shewes he strives by all worthy  
wayes, to lay the ground-works of a State, which according to his frame,  
was like to hold good to his posterity, than not. And as likely was he, to  
have bene the roote of a succession, spreading into many descents, as was  
afterwards the Norman, having as plentifull an issue masculine, as he: be-  
sides, he reigned more as long, farre better beloved; of disposition more  
bountifull, and of power larger to doe good. But it was not in his fate, his  
children misadventured in the succession, and all this great worke fell in a man-  
ner with himselfe.

Harold

Keate the  
most absolute  
monarch of  
this King-  
dome of any  
that was be-  
fore him.

1011

Anno

1038.

1011

1011

Harold's cru-  
elty.

Anno

1041.



Harold, the eldest sonne of Knute (some write by his fathers or-  
dinance, others by the election of the Danique Nobility, in an  
assembly at Wyndesore) was made King: whereas Godwin Earle of  
Kent, and the Nobility of England would have chosen Hardi-  
knut, sonne of Queene Emma, or elle Alfred, the son of Ethel-  
red, who is sayd to have come out of Normandy, upon the death of Knute to  
claim the Crowne: but Harold, being at hand, carried it. The first act  
of his reign, was the banishment, and surprizing all the treasure of his  
step-mother Queene Emma: Then the putting out the eyes of Alfred her  
sonne, his competitor, and confining him to a loathsome prison, where he  
died. For which deed the Earle Godwin beares a foule mark, as betraying  
him. Queene Emma repairs to Baldevin, Earle of Flanders, her kinsman,  
where she remained during the reigne of Harold, which was but of foure  
years, and then with her sonne Hardiknut (who came out of Denmark, as  
if he were prepared for something else, than to visit her at Bridges) returned  
into England.

Hardiknut



His Hardiknut invested in the Governement, soone frustrated  
the hope and opinion fore-conceived of him, & first in like sort  
began with that degenerate act of revenge (wherein none are  
sayd to much to delight in, as women) causing the body of the  
late King to be untomb'd, the head cut off, and throwne into  
the Thames. Then makes inquisition for such as were guilty of the death  
of Alfred, his brother by the mother, whereof Earle Godwin, and the Bi-  
shop of Worcester are accused. The Bishop is dispossessed his See, and the  
Earle with a rich and rare devised present, in forme of a Ship of Gold, ap-  
peared



peased that furie, making protestation of his innocency before the whole Nobilitie, with whom in respect his deepe roote had spread so many branches, he stood firme, and all the blame was layd to the violence and rancor of the late King.

Besides the offending these great men, he added a general grievance to the whole Kingdome, by a prodigall largesse, giving to every Mariner of his Navy eight Markes, and to every Maister ten, which he imposed to be payd by the State. But after having called home Edward his other halfe brother, out of Normandy, hee lived not long, for farther violencies; Dying suddenly the second yeare of his reigne, in the celebration of a marriage at Lambeth in his greatest jolity, not without suspicion of payson.

And with him ended the Government of the Danes in England (having only continued 26. yeares under these three last Kings) and that without any cracke or noyse, by reason the nation had no predominant side, that might sway the State, in respect of the remission of their power home in the first yeere of Knute, and no great admission of others after; and that fact, as we were here before, were now so incorporated with the English, as they made one body: and most of them planted in the remote parts of the Kingdome, that lay over against Denmarke: whereby that which with all the struggling, no power or diligence of man could resist, expired of it selfe: leaving England to a King of her owne, and Denmarke to civill discord about the succession; Norway likewise returning obedience to a son of Olave, recovered quietnesse, and a home-borne King.

The reason of  
the extinction  
of the Danes  
in England.

Anno

1042.

### Edward the Confessor.

Edward the  
Confessor.

Anno

1042.



**E**DWARD (the son of Ethelred) is sent for into England, and by the whole State elected, and crowned in England at Winchester, by Edsine Archbishop of Canterbury, Anno 1042. being about forty yeares of age. Godwin Earle of Kent, was a principal agent in his preferment, but for his owne ends. The Kingdome (as having dearly payd for the admission of strangers) ordained, that he should not bring any Normans with him. The first act he did, was the remission of the Danegilt imposed by his Father, which amounted to forty thousand pounds yearly, and had beene payd for forty yeares past. Hee caused the Lawes to be collected, out of those of the Mercians, West Saxons, Danes, and Northumbrians, and to be written in Latine. Hee was a Prince most highly renowned for his piety; and fit forme other than the calme times hee had. For having beene so long brought up with the Nunnes at Lumieges in Normandy, he scarce knew to be a man, when hee came into England. And to shew how little he understood himself, they told, how in a great anger, hee sayd to a base fellow, that disturbed his game in hunting, *I would punish thee, were I able.* And as if he had vowed their continency, with whom hee was bred, he was so far from knowing other women (either through conscience or debility) as his owne wife after his death, protested her selfe free from all carnall act done by him, and yet lived he (for the most part) with her in all formall shew of marriage.

His continen-  
cy.

Earle God-  
win great-  
nesse.

The soft simplicitie of this King gave way to the greatness of the Earle Godwin, and his children, who for that he would keene the especiall man in his preferment to the Crowne, and by marrying his daughter Edith to him, swayed chiefly the wheele of that time, and yet not without opposition.

For

For *Syward*, Earle of *Northumberland*, and *Leofrike*, Earle of *Hereford* (men of as great State and spirit) seeing him most for himselfe, became more for the King, and had their turne in performing very noble actions. Nor did their emulation, but much conduce to the present benefit, both of the King and State; for the Earle *Syward* would not be behind hand, in effecting as brave deedes in the North, as *Harold*, Earle of *Westsex*, the son of the Earle *Godwin*, performed against the *Welch*, in the West: For the first deprived of life and Crowne, *Macbeth*, an usurper, and invested *Malcolin*, in the Kingdome of *Scotland*; the other deposed *Ric* and *Griffine*, two brothers, Kings of *Wales*, and suddued that Province to this Crowne.

The Earles *Syward* and *Leofrike*, men of noble actions.

Besides, the Earle *Godwin* had to struggle with an Archbishop of *Canterburie*, *Robert*, a *Norman*, preferred from a Monke, first to *London*, and after to that Sea, by the King, inwardly affecting much that nation, and being part of their blood, and bred amongst them. Of whom it seemed (notwithstanding the former order taken to the contrary) hee had many about his person, whose neerenesse, being strangers, whatsoever they did, could not avoid to be thought to doe all offices against the Earle, and the *English* in generall: whereby, what went not right in the line of mens desires, was thought to be their cause. And in stomackes full charged, this occasion gave more fire. *Eustace* Earle of *Bullogne*, who had married *Goda* the Kings sister, having beene at the Court, and returning into *France*, his Harbenger in taking up lodgings at *Dover*, upon his peremptory behaviour, was by a Citizen slaine; The Earle arriving with all his traine, pursues, and slue the homicide, with 18. other. The City seeing this, tooke armes, and in the bickering, the Earle lost 22. of his men: whereupon, backe he hastes to the King, aggravates the insolency of the Citizens so farre; that Earle *Godwin* is sent for, and commanded with a power of men, to make against the Citie of *Dover*, to chastice the people. The Earle (considering it was upon the information of one side) advised the King rather to send for the chiefe of the Citie, to understand what they could say for themselves, and accordingly to proccede; which (being taken for a coldnesse in the businesse, and of favour to his Countymen) gave the King and his enemies occasion to suspect his affection.

*Eustace*, Earle of *Bullogne* married *Goda* the Kings sister.

Shortly after, the Earle is summoned to an Assembly at *Glocester*, where neither he, nor any of his sons would appeare; and suspecting some practise against him by his enemies, raises forces, pretending to suppress the *Welch*, who were not found to offend, whereupon the Assembly removes to *London*, summons him againe to make his appearance, to dismisse his forces; and to come onely attended with twelve persons. He sends them word; to dismisse his forces he was content, or any thing else the King would command him, so it were for the safetie of his life and honour; but to come disaccompanied, was for neither. Then was he commanded within five dayes to depart the Realme, which he did, and with *Toussaine*, and *Sywine* his sons; gets him into *Flanders*, where *Toussaine* married the daughter of the Earle *Baldowin* the 5. *Harold* his eldest son, departs into *Ireland*; the King puts away fro him the Queene, to be partaker of the disgrace, and misery of her house; who is described (by the writers of those times) to have beene a Lady of rare parts, excellently learned, beautifull, and as faire of minde as body. The Earle *Godwin* in this desperate fortune (whilst the *French* and his enemies possess the King) fell to Piracy, disturbed the coasts, approached *London*, by the River; and being so popular, as no forces would oppose against him, made at length his owne peace with power; in such sort, as the

Earle *Godwins* insurrection.

*French*

The French  
forsooke the  
Court, and  
Kingdome of  
England.

French fearing revenge, forsooke both the Court and Kingdome.

Thus (as fore-pointing to a storme that was gathering on that coast) began the first difference with the French nation: which, thus acquainted with the distraction of the Kingdome, and factions of great men, wrought on those advantages, and were instruments to draw on the fatall enterprize to follow.

The weaknesse of the King, and the disproportionate greatnesse of the Earle Godwin, being risen up from so great a fall (learning thereby, to looke better to his feete, and make his side strong) increased these discontentments, and partialities in the State; wherein many acts of injustice, by the sway of power and passion were committed; which did much blacken that time of peace, and made a good man (not by doing, but induring ill) held to be a bad King.

Queen Emmes  
affliction and  
triall.

And it is said, that *Emme*, the Queene-mother, had her part of much affliction in his reigne, suffering both in her goods and fame: and now to purge her selfe of a scandall raised on her with *Alwyn* Bishop of *Winchester*, she under-went the triall of *Fire-Ordeall* (which was to passe blind-fold, with bare feet, over certaine plough-shares, made red hot, and laide an uneven distance one before another) which shee safely performed. And the reason why, both her Son and the State so little respected this great Lady, whose many yeares had made her an actor in divers fortunes, was, for that she never affected King *Elshelred*, nor the children shee had by him: and for her marriage with *Knute*, the great enemy and subduer of the Kingdome, whom she ever much more loved living, and commended dead.

It seemed these private grudges, with mens particular ends, held these times so busied, that the publike was neglected, and an issue-lesse King, gave matter for ambition & power, to build hopes & practises upon; though for his part, he shewed to have had a care for the succession, in sending for his Nephew *Edward*, intituled the Out-law, with his children, out of *Hungary*. But *Edward*, shortly after his arrivall, died, and *Edgar* his son (surnamed *Atheling*) to say Prince *Edgar*) whom he had by his wife *Agatha*, daughter to the Emperor *Henry* the second, who (either by reason of his youth, which yet was no barre to his right, or being borne and bred a stranger, little knowing, or knowne to the Kingdome) had his claime neglected upon the death of this Pious King. Which was Anno 1065. when hee had reigned 24. yeares. His corps was interred in the Church of *Westminster*, which he had newly founded.

King Edward  
founder of  
*Westminster*  
Church.

### Harald the second.

Harald the second.

Anno  
1065.



AND *Harald*, son to Earle *Godwin* (the next day after) was preferred to the Crowne, whether by any title he might pretend from the *Danike* Kings, as descended from that Nation, and, as some report, son to *Githa*, sister to *Smaive*,) or by meere election of the greater part of the Nobility, we cannot say: but it seemes, the pressing necessity of the time, that required a more than man, to undergoe the burden of warre, and that trouble, the world was like to fall into, by reason of the claimes now made, both by the *Dane*, and *Norman*, cast it suddenly upon him; as the most eminent man of the Kingdome, both by the experience of his owne deservings, and the strength also of his owne, and the alliance of his wife *Al-gith*, sister of *Edwin* & *Morcar*, Earles of *Torkeshire* and *Chester*. Neither did he



he faile (but in fortune) to make good this election; taking all the best courses, both for the well ordering of the State, and all provisions for defence, that a politike and active Prince could doe. But being to deale in a broken world, where the affections of men were all disjoyned, or dash with the terror of an approaching mischiefe, failing (as usually is seene in these publicke feares) both in their diligence, and courage to withstand it, soone found more than enough to doe.

And the first man which began to disturbe his new government, was his owne yonger brother *Tostaine*, who (in the time of the late King *Edward*, having the government of *Northumberland*) was for his pride and inhumanities shewed in those parts, banished the Kingdome; and now by reason of his former conceived hatred against his brother, easily ferred by the Duke of *Normandie*, & *Aldouin Baldouin*, Earle of *Flanders*, (whose two daughters the Duke and he had married) assailes first the Isle of *Wight*, and after sets upon the coast of *Kent*, whence he was chased by the power of *Harald*, and forced to withdraw into the North parts; and there seeking to land, was likewise repulsed, by the Earles *Morchar* and *Edwin*. Then craves hee ayd of the *Scots*, and after of *Harald* surnamed *Masfager*, King of *Norway*, being then taking in the Orkades, and exercising piracy in those parts; whom he induced with all his forces to invade *England*. And landing at *Tinmouth* (discomfiting their first incounters) they marched into the heart of the Kingdome without resistance. Neere *Stamford*, King *Harald* of *England* met them with a puissant Army; and after long and eager fight, ended the day with victory, and the death of his brother *Tostaine*, and the King of *Norway*.

The Kings  
brother *Tos-  
taine* banished.

Men were  
in the  
middle of  
the  
year.

His death with  
the King of  
*Norway*.

The Battaille  
was fought in  
*Suffex*, 7  
miles from  
*Hampton*  
Saturday the  
14. of *Octo-  
ber*, 1066.

The King va-  
lor and death.

*William*  
*Malmesbury*.

But from hence was he called with his weary and broken forces, to a more farall businesse in the South. For now *William* Duke of *Normandy* (pretending a right to the Crowne of *England*, by the testament of the late King *Edward*, his Kinsman; upon the advantage of a busie time, and the dis-furnishment of those parts) landed at *Pemsey*, not farre from *Exeter* in *Suffex*; neere to which place was tryed by the great Assize of Gods judgement in battell (the right of power) betweene the *English* and *Norman* Nation. A battell (the most memorable of all other,) and howsoever miserably lost, yet most Nobly fought on the part of *England*; and the many wounds of *Harald* there slaine, with 60. thousand, 9. hundred, 74. of *English*, shew, how much was wrought to have saved their Country from the calamity of foraine servitude.

And yet, how so great a Kingdome as *England* then was, could with one blow be subdued by so small a Province as *Normandy* (In such sort, as it could never after come to, make any generall head against the Conquerour) might seeme strange; did not the circumstances aforesaid, and other concurrent causes, hereafter to be declared, give us faire and probable reasons thereof. Besides, the indisposition of a diseased time, as it is described by some that lived neere it, may give us greater evidence in this examination. For they say, the people of this Kingdome, were (by their being secure from their former enemy the *Dane*, and their long peace, which had held, in a manner, from the death of King *Edmond Ironside*, almost fifty yeares,) grown negligent of Armes, and generally debauched with luxurie and idleness: the Clergie licentious, and opely content with a tumultuary learning: The Nobility given to Gluttony, Venerie, and Oppression: The common sort to drunkenness, and all disorder. And they say, that in the last action of *Harald* at *Stamford*, the bravest men perished, and himselfe grew insolent upon the victory (retaining the spoyle, without distribution to his

souldiers, not inured to be commanded by martiall discipline) made them discontent, and unruly: and comming to this battell with many mercenary men, and a discontented Army, gave great occasion to the lamentable losse thereof.

Besides, the *Normans* had a peculiar fight with long bowes, wherewith the *English* (then altogether unacquainted) were especially overthrowne. And yet their owne Writers report, how the maine Battalion of the *English* (consisting of Bills, their chiefe and auncient weapon) held in a body so close lockt together, as no force could dissolve them; till the *Normans* (faining to flye) drew them to a disordered rout. And so they excused the fortune of the day.

The body of King *Harold*, which at the sute of his mother (who sent two Monkes of the Abbey of *Waltham* to entreate the same of the Conqueror) was after much search, amongst the heapes of the dead found, and interred in the same Abbey, which himselfe had founded. He was a King which shewes us nothing but misery, reigned least, and lost most of any other. He left foure sonnes, *Godwin*, *Edmond*, *Magnus*, and *Walse*: the two eldest fled away after this battaile into *Ireland*, and from thence made some attempts upon the Westerne coasts of *England*, but to little effect. And here ended the line of the *Saxon* Kings, about five hundred yeares after the first comming in of *Hengist*, and their plantation in this Kingdome.

And thus have I in the straightest courle (wherein that uneven compasse of Antiquity could direct me) got over the wide, and intricate passage of those times that lay beyond the worke. I purpose more particularly to deliver. And now,

### The Life and Reigne of William the first.

Come to write of a time, wherein the State of *England* received an alteration of Lawes, Customes, Fashion, manner of living, Language, writing, with new formes of Fights, Fortifications, Buildings, and generally an innovation in most things, but religion: So that from this mutation, which was the greatest it ever had, we are to begin with a new account of an *England*, more in dominion abroad; more in State, and ability at home, and of more honour and name in the world, than heretofore: which by being thus undone was made, as if it were, in the Fate thereof to get more by losing, than otherwise. For as first, the Conquest of the *Danes*, brought it to the entirest Government it ever posselt at home, and made it most redoubted of all the Kingdomes of the North: so did this of the *Normans*, by comming in upon it, make a way to let out, and stretch the mighty armes thereof over the Seas, into the goodly Provinces of the South: For before these times, the *English* Nation, from the first establishment in this Land, about the space of 500. yeares, never made any sally out of the Isle, upon any other part of the world, but busied at home in a divided State, held a broken Government with the *Danes*, and of no great regard, it seemed, with other Nations, till *Knut* led them forth into the Kingdome of *Norway*, where they first shewed effects of their valour, and what they would bee were they employed.

But the *Normans*, having more of the Sunne, and civility (by their commixtion with the *English*) begat smoother fashions, with quicker motions in them than before. And being a Nation free from that dull disease of drinke, where-

King Harold  
buried at  
Waltham.

His Issue.

Anno  
1066.

Englands ter-  
ritories over-  
shoots the  
Ocean.

wherewith their former conquerours were naturally infected, induced a more comely temperance, with a neeter regard of reputation & honor. For whereas before, the *English* lived loose, in little homely Cottages, where they spent all their revenues in good fare, caring for little other gaiety at all: Now after the *Norman* manner, they build them goodly Churches, and stately houses of stone, provide better furnishings, erect Castles, and Towers in other sort than before. They inclose Parkes for their private pleasure, being debarred the generall liberty of hunting, which heretofore they enjoyed: whereupon all the termes of building, hunting, tools of workemen, names of most handy-crafts appertaining to the defences and adornments of life, came all to be in *French*. And withall, the *Norman* habits, and fashion of living, became generally assumed, both in regard of novety, and to take away the note of difference, which could not be well lookt upon in that change.

And though the body of our language remained in the *Saxon*, yet it came so altered in the habit of the *French* tongue, as now we hardly know it, in the ancient forme it had; and not so much as the Character wherein it was written, but was altered to that of the *Roman* and *French*, now used. But to the end we may the better know the man, and the Nation that thus subdued us, we must take our course up to the head of their originalls. The *Normans*, we finde to have issued out of *Norway* and *Denmarke*, and were of like maners, as the rest of those *Northern* Countries; which by reason of the apt mixture of their Phlegmaticke and Sanguine complexions, with their promiscuous ingendering, without any tie of marriage, yielded that continuall surchargements of people, as they were forced to unburthen themselves on other Countries, wheresoever their violence could make them roome. And out of this redundancie, *Roul* or *Rou*, a great commander amongst them, furnished a robustious power, in the time of King *Alfred*, and first landed in *England* (that ever lay in the Road to all these invaders) where finding no roome empty, nor any employment, was content (upon some reliefe receiv'd) to use his forces other-where; which he did against *Rambalt*, Duke of *Frisie*, and *Reignier* Duke of *Chaumont* and *Hennault*; with whom hee had many violent encounters, and committed great spoyle in their Countries. Which done, he passed along the coastes of *France*, entred the mouth of *Seine*, and sackt all the Country up to *Roan*, where the people having beene lately before miserably afflicted by *Hasting*, (another invader of the same Nation) were so terrified by the approach of these new forces, that the Archbishop of *Roan*, by the consent of the people, offered him the obedience of that City, and the Country about, on condition he would defend them, and minister Justice according to the lawes of *Christ*, and the customes of the Country. For *Charles* the Simple, then King of *France*, yeelding no present succour, (being otherwise embroyled about the right of his Crowne) gave him the opportunity to plant in that place, and to grow so powerfull, as shortly after he attempted the conquest of *Paris*, and gave many notable defeats to the *French* Leaders. So that in the end, *Charles* was faine to buy his peace with the price of an alliance, and the whole Country of *Neustria*, (or *Westrich*) which of the *Normans*, was after called *Normandy*. And thereupon *Roul* became a Christian, and baptized, had the name of *Robert*, given by *Robert*, brother to *Ende* late King of *France*, who then stood in competition for that Crowne with *Charles* the Simple; and is sayd to have under-ayded *Roul* secretly, of purpose to make him friend his designe, though after he urged it in an article against *Charles*, the giving away his Country, and the favouring of strangers.

Malmibury.  
Maurice, Bi-  
shop of London  
An. Dom.  
1087.  
new built the  
Church of S.  
Paul in Lon-  
don, of stone  
brought out of  
Normandie.  
The Charter  
of William I.  
granted to  
this Church.  
Before this  
time the  
Churches  
were most  
of Timber  
William I.  
built the  
white Tower,  
afterwards  
walled and  
infilled un-  
derneath by  
William I.  
and Henry I.  
The Saxons  
habit, and  
Characters  
first altered.  
The originall  
of the Nor-  
mans. Roul, or  
Rou, the first  
Norman that  
landed in  
England.  
The History  
of Normandy.  
Roul, the first  
Conqueror of  
Normandy  
from the  
French, call-  
ing it Nor-  
ma.



And thus came *Now* to establish a State to his posterity, ordering the same with that judgement and equitie, as he left his name in a perpetuall reverence, and his successors a firme foundation to plant upon. From him, in a direct line, descended sixe Dukes of *Normandy*, in the space of 120. yeares: *William 1. Richard 1. Richard 2.* who had two sonnes, *Richard* and *Robert*; that successively inherited the Dukedome.

*Robert* after he had governed eight yeares (either meerey for devotion, which charity ought rather deeme) or expiation for some secret guilt, where-with his conscience might stand charged about his brothers death (which because it was untimely, might be thought unnatural) resolves to visite the Holy Sepulchre. And acquainting his Nobility therewith, was by them much dissuaded, in regard he had no issue: and for that (already they said) *Alain Earle of Brittain*, and the Earle of *Burgoyne*, were in contellation, who should succede him in the Dutchie: so that upon his death, and their strife, the Country was like to become a prey to the souldier, from which in conscience he was bound, by his best means to secure it. The Duke willed them to be content: I have (sayd he) a little Bastard, of whose worthinesse I have great hope, and I doubt not but he is of my begetting: him I will invest in the Dutchie as mine heire. And from henceforth I pray you take him for your Lord. The Earle of *Brittain* (notwithstanding his competition) to shew the affiance I have in him, I will constitute his governour, and Seneſchall of *Normandie*; the King of *France* shall be his Guardian, and so I leave him to God, and your loyalties.

Shortly after, the Bishops, and Barons did their homage to his base sonne, named *William*, who was the sixth Duke of *Normandie* after *Now*, begotten on *Arles*, a mean woman of *Flailon*. And Duke *Robert* making his intended journey, delivers the Child with his own hand, to Henry the first, King of *France*, whom before he had mainly aided in perswading his Crowne (left him by his father King *Robert*'s Testament) against his elder brother, and his mother *Constance*, which with a great side of Nobility stood for the right of *Primogeniture*, according to the custome of *France*: And therefore might the more presume (if good turnes done to Princes could weigh so much as their selfe-respects would not turne the scale) to have had a faire discharge of his trust: and him for a Protector, whose power was best able to be so. And causing the Child to doe homage for his Dutchie of *Normandie*, commits him to his Royall faith; departs his Court, and shortly after his life, in *Asia*. Whereupon his successor, but nine yeares of age, became obnoxious to all the miseries that afflicke Princes in their pupillage: besides the reproach of his birth; which though his honor and vertue might get over, yet lay it ever a barre in his way, and hindered his standing cleere, stood he never so high.

The Nobles of *Normandie*, soone (after his fathers death, by much entreaty got him out of the *French* Kings hands) thinking the having of him amongst them, would adde more to his Counsellors, and such as were in office: and the State of a Count, to his State the better. But soone they found, having his person (without his power) was, but to put them out, into more discord, and fiction. For presently followed the murdering, and poysoning of Governours, displacing of Officers, insurrection, supplantation, surprizings, and recovering of his person, by a Nobilitie, stubborn, haughty, and incompatible of each others precedency or decreence. But this was the least, as being done all for his person. Now followed more dangerous, and crueler commotions against him. His right was contended

quarrelled by competitors, cleere in blood, and great in meanes. Whereof the first (though farthest off in descent) was *Roger de Tresny*, bringing a faire line from *Roule*; and much prooffe of his owne worth, by having gotten great experience, in the *Sarazine* warre in *Spaine*: whereby upon his returne, entertaining and feasting the great, and especiall men of worth; he was grown powerfull, well followed, and beloved of many: in so much that at length, measuring his owne height, he urges, *What wrong it was that a Bastard, and a Childe should be preferred before him, in the succession of the Dutchie, his Ancestors, had nobly gotten; and what a shame the Normans (a people of that worth) would endure, to be so governed; seeing they had others of the renowned race of Roule, William, and Richard, Dukes of Normandy, of a lawfull and direct line, if they held him unworthy to inherite the State.* And being impatient (as is ambition, that ever rides without raines) of any long delay, brings his claime to a strong battaile in the field, which by the valiancie of *Roger de Beaumont*, was utterly defeated, and himselfe with his two brethren slaine. Whereby all feare that way was extinguished, and the reputation of the Duke and his, so much advanced, as the King of *France*, (notwithstanding his tutelary charge) tooke from him the Castle of *Thylliers*, and demolisht it, pretending the insolencies committed there, by the Garrisons, upon his subjects: and makes shew as yet, onely to keepe things even. But long it was not, ere hee plainly bewrayed his minde; ayding in person *William Earle of Arques*, brother to Duke *Robert*, and sonne to *Richard the second*, making his claime to the Dutchie, and brings a mighty Armie to succour *Arques*, assailed by Conte *Guiffard*, the Dukes Generall; who (by a stratagem so trayned the *French* into an Ambush) as he overthrew their whole power, and returnes the King to *Paris*, with great losse, and dishonour: Leaving *Arques* (the first Arch of triumph) to this Conqueror, not yet arrived to leaventeene yeares of age; and the discomfited competitor to seeke his fortunes with *Eustace Earle of Bologne*, finding upon his returne little grace in Court; where fortune ever alters credit, and few regard men overthrowne.

This storme over past, another succeeds more dangerous; here lived with Duke *William*, a young Lord of like yeares, named *Guy* sonne to *Regnalt*, Earle of *Boregne* and *Alix*, daughter to *Richard the second*; who coming to be sensible of his interest, was advised by some stirring spirits, to attempt for the Dutchie, which they sayd appertayned to him in right, and was wrongfully usurped by the *Bastard*. And to advance his purpose, there happens deadly hostility betweene two of the greatest Lords of *Normandy* (*Conte Neele*, and the Earle of *Bessin*) whose debate Duke *William* did not, or could not pacifie. This *Guy* (lately made Earle of *Bryorn*, and *Vernon*), interpolated himselfe to compose this discord, and by the advice of *Grimoult de Flebus* (a principall moover in this worke) so wrought, that either of these Lords, turned the point of their malice upon him, who in their quarrell favouring neither, made both to hate him; and easily conspire with *Guy* to murder him at unawares: Which they had done, had not a certaine Foole (whom, for being held a naturall, they suspected not) noting their preparations, got away in the dead of the night to *Valogne*, knocking and crying at the gate, till hee was admitted to the Dukes presence, whom hee willed in haste to flye, or hee would bee murdered. The Duke seeing the Foole in this affright, thought dangers were not to be weighed by the worth of the Reporter, but by their likelihood; and knowing his Fortune was lyable unto all suddaine assassinations: instantly takes

A conspiracy discovered strangely.

Horse, and all alone postes to *Fallaise*, his especial place of strength: on the way, his horse being tyred, about breake of day, he comes to a little village called *Rye*, where, by good Fortune, the Gentleman of the place, was standing at his doore, ready to goe abroad; of whom the Duke requires the next way to *Fallaise*: The Gentleman perceiving who he was (though as then very unwilling to be knowne) humbly craves the cause of his so strange and untimely riding alone: The Duke seeing himselfe discovered, tells the occasion: The Gentleman (whose name was *Robert de Rye*) furnishes him with a fresh horse, and sends two of his sonnes to conduct him the neereft way to *Fallaise*: No sooner was he gone out of sight, but after post the Conspirators, enquiring of the same Gentleman whether he saw the Duke; who answered that he was gone a little before, such a way (shewing them a divers path) and rode on with them, offering his service to Count *Bessin*; where they made themselves so powerfull, as the Duke withdrew him to *Roan*, and from thence to the King of *France*, to crave his ayde, putting him in minde of the faithfull service his Father had done him: how he was his Homager, under his tutelary charge, and had no other sanctuary of succour to flye unto, in this case of his malicious and turbulent Nobility; the effect whereof was of dangerous consequence to that Crowne. And so farre urged the importancie of reliefe, as the King at length (who seemes was yet content to have him be, though not too strong, and peradventure rather him than his Competitor *Guy de Burgogne*) ayded him in Person with a puissant Armie against these Competitors, whom they found in the vale of *Dunes* with as great power and resolution to bid them battaile, as they to assaile them. Heere one *Guillefon*, Vncle to Viconte *Neel* by the mother, forced his Horse into the Battailion of the *French*, and made at the King, and strake him downe with his Lannce: Which Conte *Saint Paul* perceiving, hastes to encounter him with that Violence, as both fell to the Earth; but *Guillefon* soone gets up, and though his Horse was slaine under him, by *Castillon*, he escapes out of the presse, and after fled into *Apulia* with others. The King recovered, and more inkindled with this affront, spared not his Person, to avenge his wrath. Duke *William* likewise (as it stood him most upon) shewed effects of an all-daring and Magnanimous Prince. And yet had not *Ralph de Tesson* bene false to his fellowes to recover faith with him, he had not carried (as he did) the victory.

After which, divers of the Conspirators (who had too great hearts to yeeld) passed the Mountaines into *Italy*, to *Robert Guiscard* their Countryman (who of a private Gentleman, was now by his prowesse, become Lord of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*, within the space of twelve yeares:) to whom they were exceeding welcome, and especially *Guillefon*, for having incountred with a King in the midst of his battaile; which made him of wider note. But the better to know, what starre these *Norman* spirits had, as borne for the revolutions of those times, it shall not lye out of our way to shew, how they first came into *Italy* upon this occasion.

There happened a debate betweene one *Oswold Drengot*, and *William Repassell*, Gentlemen both valiant, and of great Parentage in *Normandy*, who as they hunted in the Forrest of *Roubery* (neere *Roan*) with Duke *Robert*; *Drengot* slew *Repassell*, in his presence; and fearing the fury of the Duke, and the friends of the slaine, fled to *Rome*, and so to *Naples*, where he, with his small Company of *Normans* that followed him, was entertained of the Duke de *Benevento*, to serve him against the *Saracins* and *Africans*, which miserably infested *Apulia* and *Calabria*, at that time. The bruite of which entertainment



retainment was no sooner spread in *Normandy*, but divers Valiant Gentlemen and Souldiers, allured with the hope of good Fortune, passed the *Alpes*, got to their Nation, and so wrought, as they grew formidable to these *Barbarians*, and in the end, utterly chased and and extinguished them. The *Calabrians* and *Apulians*, seeing themselves rid of their enemies, would have beene glad likewise (their time served) to be rid of their Friends, and either using them more unkindely than of custome, or they presuming more of desert, turned their swords upon their Intertrainers. And first got a little place, which they fortified for the *Redoubt*, and receipt of booty: And so augmenting still their Winnings, obtained Territories, Cities, and Fortresses. And after the death of *Drengor*, succeeded other gallant Leaders, and at length *Tancred*, Signior de *Hautville*, in *Constantine*, with his twelve sons, came into *Apulia*, of whom his third son *Robert*, surnamed *Guiscard*, attained the command; and was a man of faire stature, cleare judgement, and indefatigable courage. He conquered all *Apulia*, *Calabria* and *Syelle*, passed the Sea into *Greece*; relieved *Michael Ducas*; Emperour of *Constantinople*, defeated *Nicephorus* that usurped the Empire, and shortly after *Alexius* attempting the like; and in one yeare vanquished two Emperours, the one of *Greece*, the other of *Germany*: swayed the whole state of *Italy*, and was in a faire way to have obtained the Empire of *Constantinople* for himselfe, had he not died in the expedition.

*Recomond* his eldest son, by his first wife, became after Prince of *Antioch*, and is much renowned in the holy warres. *Roger* (of his second marriage with the daughter of the Prince of *Salerno*) succeeded in the states of *Italy*, as more theirs by birth and blood. His daughters were all highly married; Thus from a private Gentleman, came this famous *Norman* to leave a succession of Kings & Princes after him, & died the same yeare as did this *William*, his concurrent in the love and favour of Fortunes. And to this man fled all the discontented and desperate *Normans* during these civill warres the Duke had with so many Competitors; and every overthrow he gave them, augmented *Guiscard*s forces in *Italy*, and especially this battell of *Danes*; which ended not the Dukes travalles, for *Guy de Burgoyne* escaping the fight, fortified the Castles of *Brion* and *Ferneville*, but in the end was faine to render them both, and himselfe, to the Dukes mercy, and became his pencioner, who was his Competitor; which act of clemency in the Duke, brought in many other to subgit themselves; whereby they re-obtained their Signiories, but had their Castles demolished.

Having ended this worke, new occasion to keepe him in action, was ministred by *Geoffrey Martle Earle of Anjou*, who waiking upon the the *Brittains*, incroached also upon his neighbours States, and usurped *Alençon*, *Dampfront*, and *Ruffin*, members of the Duchy of *Normandy*. Which to recover, the Duke leaves an Army, and first got *Alençon*, where (for that he was opprobriously scorned by the besiedged, who, when they saw him, would cry *La Pel, La Pel*, in reproach of the basenesse of his mother, and the Trade of the place of his birth) he shewed extreme cruelty. Then layes he siege to *Dampfront*; which to relieve, *Count Martle* comes with his greatest forces: and the Duke to take notice of his strength, sends out *Roger de Montgomery*, with two other Knights to deliver this message to the Earle, That if he came to visitall *Dampfront*, he should finde him there the Fort so to keepe him out: Whereto the Earle returns this answer, Tell the Duke, to morrow by day breake, he shall have me there on a white horse, ready to give him the Combat, and I will enter *Dampfront* if I can: And as he end he shall know me, I will weare a shield, without any device.

Roger

Roger replies, Sir you shall not neede to take that paines, for to morrow morning, you shall have the Duke in this place, mounted in a bay horse, and when you shall know him, he shall wear on the point of his hauberk, a banner of Effigies, to wipe your face. Here with returning, each side prepares for the morning. When the Earle, busie in ordering his battells, was advertised by two Horse-men, that came crossing the field, how *Dampfront*, for certaine was sende to the Duke; whereupon in great rage, he presently departs with his Army: whereof a part, was (in passing a freight) cut off, by *Frederick Neel*, who for that service, redeemed his former offence, and was restored to the Dukes favour, whom he ever after faithfully served. Those of *Dampfront*, desperate of succour, presently yeeld themselves to the Duke, who with his engines and forces removes from thence to *Hambriere*, a frontire Towne of Count *Martell*, and by the way (had it not beene by himselfe discovered) he had beene utterly overthrowne by a ambush, which gave him much to doe, and lost him many brave men. Where with he grew so enraged, that he rushed into the troups of his enemies, made at Count *Martell*, strake him downe with his sword, clave his Helmet, and cut off an eare: but yet he escaped out of the preasse, though divers were taken, and the *Anjouins* utterly defeated.

Whilst thus hee was travailed with an outward enemy, two more, were found at home, to conspire against him: *William Guisart*, Earle of *Northaigne*, descended from *Richard the first*, and *William*, Earle of *Ex* and *Monmouth*, issuing from *William*, the brother of the same *Richard*, and of *Isabel*, Countesse of *Montreuil*: the first upon suspicion, the other upon prooffe, of an intention, was banished, and their estates seized: the Barledome of *Montreuil* he gave to *Robert*, that of *Ex* to *Odo* (after Bishop of *Bayona*), both his brethren by the mother. These assaults from abroad, these scornes, conspiracies, and inward workings at home, were passed before he was full 22. yeares of age: and thus his enemies made him, that sought to undoe him. But now, as yet to underster and strengthen his State, against future practises, he convokes an assembly of his Prelates, Barons, and Gentlemen, causing them to sweare their oath of Fealty, and raise their Castles, which done, he marries *Matilde*, the daughter of *Baldouin the first*, Earle of *Flanders*, but not without contest and trouble: for his Viceroy *Mauger*, Arch-bishop of *Reims*, excommunicates him, for matching within the forbidden degrees of kindred, she being daughter to *Blanca*, daughter to *Richard the second*, and so his fathers sisters daughter. For expiate for which offence (upon a dispensation from *Pope Victor*), they were enjoyned the building of certaine Hospitals for blinde people, and two Abbeyes, the one for men, the other for women: which were erected at *Caen*.

This match, and the over-matching his enemies, set him so high a marke of envy in the eye of *France*, which naturally loved not the *Normans*, (whom in reproach they usually called *Trois-noms*), as they easily incensed their King, who of himselfe was forward enough, to abate a power, growne so out of proportion with the rest of the Princes of his Dominions, to finde a quarrell, which concerns easily doe to set upon him: and to make it looke the fairest, pretends to doe so for the intoleration of the *Normans* committed upon his Territories, and so reclaiming Count *Martell* oppressed by the Duke; besides allredging, it recovered him of *Bayona* and justice, to have that Province, which *Archibishop Crowne*, is by governed by a Prince of lawfull blood, according to the *Norman* order and Lawes, Ecclesiasticall. And therefore resolveth utterly to extirpate the Duke, and establish a legitimate Prince in the Duchie.

The Duke marries Matilde daughter of Baldouin the first Earle of Flanders.

The reasons why the King of France wars with the Normans.

For which effect, two armies are gathered from all parts of his Kingdome; the one sent along the River *Sein*, the other into the Countrey of *Bessin*, as meaning to encompass him.

The Duke likewise divides his forces into two parts, sends his brother *Odo*, Earle of *Eu*, *Walter Gifford*, Earle of *Langueville*, and others with the one, to the Countrey of *Caux*; himselfe with the other takes towards *Eureux* (to make head to the King that was at *Alente*) and withdrawes all cattle and provisions out of the flat Countrey, into Cities & Fortresses, for their owne store, and disfurishment of the enemye. The Kings army marching from *Beauvais*, to *Mortimer*, and finding there a fat Countrey full of all provisions, berooke them to make good cheere, and rest there all that night; thinking the *Normans* forces were yet with the Duke at *Eureux*; which the Army in *Caux* conducted by *Odo* understanding, marched all night, and by breake of day, gave them so hot an alarm, and so sodaine, as put them all in a rout, leaving horse, and armour, & all to the assaillants, who made such a destruction of them, that of forty thousand, not the fourth part escaped.

The defeiture of the Army of the King of France by the Normans.

With this defeiture, the King of France is againe returned home, with great rage and griefe, and the Duke, with the redemption of the prisoners, recovers his peace, and the Castle of *Thoulliers*, taken from him in his under-age Count *Marcell*, though much dismayed at the Kings overthrow, yet leaves him to make some attempts for the recovering his Townes; but with no successe. The Duke he saw was too well beloved and followed, for him to doe any good without a stronger arme. Wherefore the next Spring, he does againe importune the King of France, to aide him against the Duke: who (he said) *Was now grown so insolent upon this peace, and the victory hee had obtained, and now would, that there was no living for his neighbours neere him:* Besides, the *Normans* had the *French* in such derision, and base esteeme, as they made their rap (at *Mortimer*) their onely sport, and the subject of their rimes: as if a King of France, upon the losse of a few men, was retired, and durst not breake a dishonourable peace.

With which instigation, and being stung with the touch of reproach, hee raises another Army farre mightier than before, wherein were three Dukes, and twelve Earles, and notwithstanding the solemne peace made, and so lately sworn with the Duke, he enters *Normandy* in the harvest time, over-runs and spoiles all the Countrey, along the coast to *Aglin*: from whence marching to *Bayeux*, and *Caux*, with purpose to passe the river *Dive* at *Varenville*, to destroy the Countreies of *Augt*, *Licieux*, and *Beauvais*, even to *Rouen*, and finding the cause way long, and the bridge narrow, caused his vanguard to passe over first: and to secure his Arriere-gard conducted by the Duke of *Berry*, himselfe stales behinde in *Caux*, till his people, and their carriages were passed. Duke *William* (who all this while, stores his fortresses with men and victuall) makes himselfe as strong in the Towne of *Falaise*, as hee could; hath no Army in the field, but a lying campe to be ready to take all advantages: lets the fume of the storme spend it selfe, and having advertisement of this passage, marched all night with ten thousand men, and in the morning early, lets upon the Arriere-gard, with so sodaine a cry and fury, as they who were before on the cause way hearing this noise behinde, thrust forward their fellowes, hasting to get over the bridge, with such a crowd and presse, as they brake it, and many were drowned in the river. They who were got over, could not returne to aide the rest, nor the King (by reason of the Marshes on both sides) yeeld any succour to his people; but stood a spectator of their slaughter, and the taking of sixe of his Earles, of whom one was

The army of the King of France overthrown at Varenville by the Normans.



was the exiled Earle of *Eu*, whom the King (favouring his great worth) had made Count *De Soissons*.

The griefe of this overthrow, shortly after gave the King of *France* his death, and the Duke of *Normandy* a joyfull peace, which he nobly employed in the ordering and adorning his State: building, endowing, and decking Monasteries and Churches: gathering reliques from all parts to furnish his Abbeys at *Cæn* (where hee also erected a Tombe for himselfe and his wife) feasting and rewarding his Nobles and men of worth: whereby he so possesse him of the hearts of his people generally, as they were intirely his, for what he would.

During this calme of his life, he makes a journey over into *England*, as if to visite King *Edward* his kinsman: who, in regard of the preservation, and breeding he had in *Normandy*, by Duke *Richard* the second (Grandfather to them both) gave him most Royall entertainment: and here he shewed himselfe; and here (no doubt) he found matter of his hopes to worke on. In this enterview he discovered *England*, being to be presupposed, he came not to gather cockle-shells, on the shore. Nor was it long after ere *Harold* (whether of purpose to ratifie some passion closely contrived betwixt them: or by casualty of weather driven into *France*, (and so faine to make it seeme a journey of purpose to the Duke, is not certainly delivered) was gallantly entertained in *Normandy*, presented with all shewes of Armes, brought to *Paris*, and there likewise feasted in that Court. And at his returne to *Rouen*, something was concluded, either in likely-hood to devide the Kingdome betwene them, or that *Harold* being a coast-dweller, and had the strongest hand in the State, should let in the Duke, and doe his best to help him to the Crowne, upon conditions of his owne greatnesse, or whatsoever it was, promises were made and confirmed by oathes upon the Evangelists, and all the sacred Reliques at *Rouen*, in the presence of divers great persons. Besides, for more assurance, *Harold* was fianced to *Adeliza*, the Dukes daughter, and his brother *Walnot* left a pledge for the performance.

This intercourse made the trans-action of the fate of *England*, and so much was done, either by King *Edward* or *Harold* (though neithers act, if any such were, was of power to prejudice the State, or alter the course of a right succession) as gave the Duke a colour to claiming the Crowne, by a donation made by Testament, which being against the Law and Custome of the Kingdome, could be of no validitie at all. For the Crowne of *England* being held, not as Patrimoniall, but in a succession by remotion (which is a succeeding to another place) it was not in the power of King *Edward* to collate the same by any dispositive and testamentary will, the right descending to the next of blood, onely by the Custome and Law of the Kingdome: For the Successour is not said to be the heire of the King, but the Kingdome, which makes him so, and cannot be put from it by any act of his Predecessour. But this was onely his claime; the right was of his owne making, and no otherwise. For as soone as he had heard of the death of King *Edward*, with the Election, and Coronation of *Harold*, (for they came both together) hee assembles the States of *Normandy*, and acquaints them with the right he had to *England*, Soliciting an extention of their utmost meanes for his recovery thereof, and avengement of the perjur'd usurper *Harold*; shewing them apparant probabilities of successe, by infallible intelligence hee had from the State, his strong party therein, with the debility and distraction of the people: What glory, wealth, and greatnesse, it would adde to their Nation, the obtaining of such a Kingdome, as was that opportunely laid open for them, if they apprehended

The Duke comes to visit his kinsman.

*Harold* goeth over into *Normandy*. His entertainment.

His promises to the Duke.

The Dukes speech to the assembly of the States of *Normandy*.

bended the present occasion. All which remonstrances notwithstanding, could induce but very few to like of this attempt, & those such who had long followed him in the warres, exhausted their estates, and content to runne upon any adventure that might promise any likelihood of advancement. The rest were of divers opinions: Some, that it was sufficient to hold & defend their own Country: without hazarding themselves, to conquer others, and these were men of the best abilitie: others were content to contribute, but so sparingly, as would little advance the businesse: and for the most part they were fortified with the former warres, and so desirous to embrace the blessing of peace, as they were unwilling to undergoe a certaine trouble, for an uncertaine good. And with these oppositions, or faint offers, the Dukes purpose, at first, had so little way, as did much perplexe him: At length, seeing this protraction, and difficulty in generall: he deales with his nearest and most trusty friends in particular, being such as he knew affected the glory of action, and would adventure their whole estates with him. As *William fitz Auber*, *Conte de Breteville*, *Gualter Guifford Earle of Longueville*, *Roger de Beaumont*, with others, especially his owne brothers, *Odo Bishop of Bayeux*, and *Robert Earle of Mortaigne*: these in full assembly he wrought to make their offers; which they did in so large a proportion; and especially *William fitz Auber* (who made the first offer, to furnish forty Ships with men and munition; the Bishop of *Bayeux* forty, the Bishop of *Mans* thirty, and so others, according, or beyond their abilities) as the rest of the assembly, doubting if the action succeeded without their help, the Duke (arriving to that greatnesse) would beare in minde, what little minde they shewed to advance his desires, began to contribute more largely. The Duke, finding them yeeking, though not in such sort as was requisite for such a worke; dealt with the Bishops, & great men apart, so effectually, as at length he got of them severally, which of altogether hee could never have compassed; and causing each mans contribution to be registered, inkindled such an emulation amongst them, as they who lately would doe nothing, now strived who should doe most.

The subtill proceeding of the Duke with his Nobles.

The French likewise aide the Duke.

And not only won he the people of his owne Provinces, to undertake this action, but drew by his faire perswasions and large promises, most of the greatest Princes and Nobles of *France*, to adventure their persons, and much of their estate with him, as *Robert fitz Harvart*, Duke of *Orleans*, the Earles of *Brittaine*, *Ponthieu*, *Bologne*, *Portien*, *Mayne*, *Nevers*, *Hiersins*, *Amual*, *Le Signior de Tours*, and even his mortall enemy *Marcel*, Earle of *Anjou*, became to be as forward as any. All which, hee could never have induced; had not his vertues and greatnesse gained a wide opinion and reputation amongst them. Although in these advancements and suite of Princes, there is a concurrency of dispositions, & a state of minde prepared for it: yet is it strange, that so many mighty men of the *French* nation, would adventure their lives and fortunes to adde *England* to *Normandy*, to make it more than *France*, and so great a Crowne to a Duke, who was too great for them already. But where mutations are destined, the counsels of men must be corrupted, and there will fall out all advantages to serve that businesse.

The reason of the Dukes power.

The King of *France*, who should have strangled this designe in the birth, was a child, and under the curature of *Baldwin*, Earle of *Flanders*, whose daughter the Duke had married, and was sure to have rather furtherance than any opposition that way: Besides, to winne that Court, and dazell a young Prince, he promised faithfully, if he conquered this Kingdome, to hold it of that King, as he did the Duchie of *Normandy*, and doe him homage.

1066.  
Anno  
Reg. 1.

Reasons for  
the yeelding  
of the Clergy.

What moved  
the Nobles to  
yeeld.

The Coronation  
and oath  
of William 1.

mage for the same; which would adde a great honour to that Crowne. Then was he before-hand with Pope *Alexander* (to make Religion give reputation and avowment to his pretended right) promising likewise to hold it of the Apostolique See, if he prevailed in his enterprize. Whereupon the Pope sent him a Bannet of the Church, with an *Agnus* of gold, and one of the haire of Saint *Peter*. The Emperour *Henry* the fourth, sent him a Prince of *Almaine* with forces, but of what name, or his number, is not remembered: so that we see it was not *Normandy* alone that subdued *England*, but a collected power out of all *France* and *Flanders* with the aides of other Princes. And by these meanes, made hee good his undertaking; and within eight moneths, was ready furnished with a powerfull Army at *Valery* in *Normandy*, whence he transported the same into *England* in 896. shippes, as some write. And thus was the man, and thus made to subdue *England*.

And now having gotten, the great and difficult battaile, before remembered, at *Hastings*, the fourteenth of October 1066. he marched without any opposition to *London*, where *Edwin* and *Morcar*, Earles of *Northumberland*, and *Mercland* (brothers of eminent dignity and respect in the Kingdome) had laboured with all their power to stur the hearts of the people for the conservation of the State, and establishing *Edgar Atheling*, the next of the Royall issue, in his right of the Crowne: whereunto other of the Nobility had likewise consented; had they not seene the Bishops averse or wavering. For, as then, to the Clergy, any King (so a Christian) was all one: they had their Province a-part, devided from secular domination: and of a Prince (though a stranger) who had taken up so much of the world before hand, upon credit and fame of his pietie and bounty, they could not but presume well for their estate: and so were content to give way to the present Fortune.

The Nobility, considering they were so borne, and must have a King: not to take him (that was of power to make himselfe) would shew more of passion than providence; and to be now behinde-hand to receive him, with more than submission, was as if to withstand: which (with the distrust of each others faith) made them strive and run headlong, who should be the first to pre-occupate the grace of servitude, and intrude them into foraine subjection.

The Commons (like a strong vessell that might have beene for good use) were hereby left without a sterne, and could not move irregularly. So that all estates in generall either corrupted with new hopes, or transported with feare, forsooke themselves, and their distressed Country. Vpon his approach to *London*, the Gates were all set open: the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, *Stigand*, with other Bishops, the Nobilitie, Magistrates, and People, rendring themselves in all obedience unto him: and he returning plausible protestation of his future Governement, was on *Christmas* day, then next following, Crowned King of *England*, at *Westminster*, by *Aldred*, Arch-bishop of *Yorke*; for that *Stigand* was not held Canonically invested in his See; and yet thought to have beene a forward mover of this alteration.

Here, according to the accustomed forme, at his Coronation, the Bishops, and Barons of the Realme, took their oaths, to be his true and loyall subjects, and he reciprocally (being required thereunto by the Arch-bishop of *Yorke*) made his personall oath, before the Altar of Saint *Peter*, To defend the Holy Church of God, and the Persons of the same: To governe the Universall People, subject unto him, justly: To establish equall Lawes; and to see them duly executed. Nor did he ever claime any power by Conquest, but as a regular



gular Prince submitted himselfe to the orders of the Kingdome: desirous rather to have his Testamentary Title (howsoever weak) to make good his succession, rather than his sword. And though the stile of *Conquerour* by the flattery of the time, was after given him; he shewed by all the course of his government he assumed it not: introducing none of those alterations (which followed) by violence, but by a milde gathering upon the disposition of the State, and the occasions offered, and that by way of reformation. And now taking Hostages for his more security, and order for the defence and government of his Kingdome, at the opening of the Spring next, he returns into *Normandy*, so to settle his affaires there, as they might not distract him from his businesse in *England*, that required his whole powers.

King William's submission to the orders of the Kingdome of England.

And to leave here all safe behind him, he commits the rule of the Kingdome, to his brother the Bishop of *Bayeux*, and to his Cousin Fitz \* *Auber*, whom he had made Earle of *Hereford*; taking with him all the chiefe men of *England*, who were likest to be heads to a revolt: As *Edgar Atheling*, the Archbishop *Stigand*, lately discontented: *Edwin*, and *Morchar*, with many other Bishops and Noble-men: Besides, to unburden his charge, and dis-impester his Court; he tooke backe with him all the *French* Adventurers, and such as were men, rewarding them as farre as his treasure would extend, and the rest he made up in faire promises.

\* Or Osme.

King William returns into *Normandy* with the chiefe Nobility of *England*.

In his absence, which was all the whole Summer, nothing was here attempted against him, but onely that *Edric*, surnamed the *Forrester*, in the Countie of *Hereford*, called in the Kings of the *Welsh*, to his ayde, and foraged onely the remote borders of that Countie: The rest of the Kingdome stood quiet, expecting what would become of the new world, wherein yet they found no great alteration, their lawes and liberties remaining the same they were before, and might hope by this accession of a new Province, the State of *England* would be but enlarged in dominion abroad, and not impayred in profit at home, by reason the Nation was but small, and of a plentifull and not overpeopled Countrey, likely to impester them.

Having disposed his affaires of *Normandy*, he returns towards winter into *England*, where he was to satisfie three sorts of men; First, such Adventurers, with whom he had not yet cleared: Secondly, those of his owne people, whose merits or neerenesse, looked for recompence, whercof the number being so great, many must have their expectation fed, if not satisfied: Thirdly, the people of this Kingdome, by whom he must now subsist: For being not able with his owne Nation so to impeople the same, as to hold and defend it (if he should proceed to an extirpation of the naturall Inhabitants) he was likewise to give them satisfaction.

King William returns into England.

Wherein, he had more to doe, than in his battell at *Hastings*; seeing all remunerations, with supplies of money, must be raised out of the stocke of this Kingdome, which could not but be irkesome to the state in generall; & all preferments and dignities conferred on him, to be either by vacancies, or displacing others, which must needs breed very feeling grievances in particular. And yet we finde no great men thrust out of their roomes, but such as put themselves out, by revolting, after his establishment, and their fealty given; as appears by the controversie betweene *Warren the Norman*, and *Sherburn* of *Sherburne* Castle in *Norfolke*, which Castle, though the King had given to *Warren*, yet (when *Sherburne* alledged, How he never bare Armes against him: that he was his subject as well as the other, and held his Lands by that law which he had established amongst all his subjects) the King gave judgement against *Warren*, and also commanded, that *Sherburne* should

ambden Novf.

M. S.

1067.

Anno

Reg. 2

The English Nobility forsake the kingdome.

The King of Scots enters league with the English Nobility, and married Edgars sister.

1068

Anno

Reg. 3.

hold his Land in peace: So that it seemes, he contented himselfe and his, for the time, onely with what he found here ready, and with filling up their places, who were slaine in the battell; or fled, as many were, with the sonnes of *Harald* out of the Kingdome. Such Gentlemen as he could not presently preferre, and had a purpose to advance, hee dispersed abroad into Abbeys, there to live till places fell out for them: and 24. he sent to the Abby of *Ely*: whereby he not onely lessened the multitude of attendants and suiters at Court; eased that eye-fore of strangers, but also had them a watch over the Cleargie, who then were of great and eminent power in the Kingdome; and might prevaile with the people.

But the English Nobilitie, incompatible of these new concurrences; found notwithstanding, such a disproportion of grace, and darkning of their dignities, by the interposition of so many, as must needs lessen their splendour; that many of the chiefeest, doubting to be more impaired in honor and estate, conspired together, and fled, some into *Scotland*, and some into *Denmarke*, to trie if by aide from abroad, they might recover themselves, and their fortunes again at home. Among which, the chiefe was *Edgar Asbeling* (tearmed *Englands Darling*, which shewed the peoples zeale to his blood,) who with his mother *Agatha*, and his two sisters, *Margaret* and *Christin*, intending to retire into *Hungary* (their native Country) were driven by tempest on the coast of *Scotland*, where they were in all Hospitable manner entertained by *Malcolin* the third, whose former sufferings in his exile, had taught him to compassionate others like distressed; and whom it concerned now to look to his owne, his neighbours house being thus on fire: and to foster a party against so dangerous an incommen, that was like to thrust them all out of doore. Which induced him not only to entertaine this Prince, dispossessed of his right, but to enter league with him for the publike safety; hee takes to wife *Margaret*, the sister of *Edgar*, (a Lady indued with all blessed vertues) by whom the blood of our ancient Kings was preserved, and conjoynd with the *Norman* in *Henry* the second, and so became *English* againe. Vnto *Edgar* in *Scotland*, repaired the Earles *Edwin* and *Morchar*, *Hereward*, *Gospatric*, *Steward*, with others: and shortly after *Stigand* and *Alred*, Arch-bishops, with divers of the Clergy: who in the third yeare of this Kings reigne, raised very great commotions in the North, beyond *Humber*, and wrought most egerly to recover their lost Country: but being now too late, and the occasion not taken before the settling of the government, whilst it was new, and branling, they prevailed nothing, but gave advantage to the Conquerour, to make himselfe more than he was: For all conspiracies of Subjects, if they succede not, advance the Soveraigntie: and nothing gave roote to the *Norman* planting here, more than the petty revolts made by disscattered troupes, in severall parts, begun without order, and followed without resolution; whereas nothing could be done for a generall recovery, but by a generall sublevation of the people, for which all wary preventions were used; and they had waites enough laid on, to hold them downe. And these Lords imbroiled themselves and held him doing in the North, yet he having all the South parts settled under his dominion, with well practised and prepared Forces, there could be little hope of good, whilst all their great Estates furnisht the *Normans*, both in state and meanes to ruine them. The Earledome, and the Lands which *Edwin* held in *Yorkeshire*, were given to *Alain*, Earle of *Brittaine*, kinsman to the Conqueror; The Arch-bishopricke of *Canterbury*, confer'd on *Lanfranc*, Abbot of *Caen*: That of *Torke*, on *Thomas* his Chaplaine; and all the rest both of the Clergy and

and others, which were out, had their places within, supplied by Normans.

And after King William had appeased a commotion in the West, which the sonnes of Harald, with forces out of Ireland had raised, and also repressed the rebellion of Excester and Oxford, he takes his journey in person Northward with all expedition (lest the enemy there, should grow too high in heart and opinion, upon the great slaughter of his people, made at Torke; and the defeiture of his brother and Lieutenant, Robert Earle of Mortaine, slaine with seven hundred Normans at Durham:) where, at his first comming he so wrought, that he either discomfited, or corrupted the Generals of the Danique forces (newly arrived to aide the Lords, sent by Swaine, King of Denmarke, under the conduct of his two sonnes, Harold and Knute, with a Navy of three hundred saile:) and after sets upon the Army of the Lords, weakened both in strength and hope, by this departure of their confederates, and puts them to flight. Which done, he utterly wasted, and laide desolate, all that goodly Country betweene Torke and Durham, the space of 60 miles; as it might be no more a succour to the enemy; And the like course he used on all the Coasts where any apt landings lay for invasions; and so returns to London.

Most of the Lords after this defeit, came in, upon publique faith given them, and were conducted to Barkhamsted, by the Abbot Fredricke: where, upon their submission and Oath of Allegiance re-taken, they had their pardon, and restitution of grace granted by the King, who it seemes was so willing to acquiet them, that againe hee takes his personall Oath before the Arch-bishop Lanfranke, and the Lords, To observe the ancient Lawes of the Realme, established by his Noble Predecessors, the Kings of England, and especially of Edward the Confessor. Whereupon these stormy dispositions held calme a while.

But long it was not ere many of these Lords (whether upon intelligence of new hopes, from Prince Edgar (who was still in Scotland,) or growne desperate of new displeasure at home, finding small performance of promises made, rupture of Oath, and all other respects, brake out againe. The Earle Edwin, making toward Scotland, was murdered by his owne people. The Lords Morchar and Hereward, betooke them to the Isle of Elie, meaning to make good, that place for that Winter; whither also repaired the Earle Syward, and the Bishop of Durham out of Scotland. But the King who was no time-giver unto growing dangers, besets all the Isle with flat boates on the East, and made a bridge of two miles long on the West, and safely brought in his people upon the enemy, who seeing themselves surprized; yeelded all to the Kings mercy, except Hereward, who desperately marched with his people through the Fens; and recovered Scotland: The rest were sent to divers Prisons, where they died, or remained during the Kings life. Those Lords who persisted loyall upon this last submission, were all employed and well graced with the King, as Edric the Forrester (and first that rebelled in his Reigne) was held in cleare trust, and neere about him. Gospatric he made Earle of Northumberland; and sent him against Malcolm, who in this time, subdues the Countries of Tisfall, Cleveland and Cumberberland: Waltheof, sonne to the Earle Syward, he held so worthy to be made his, as he married him to his Neece Judith, though he had beene a principall actor in the Northerne commotion (& in defending the city of Torke against him, is said to have stricken off the heads of divers Normans, one by one, as they entred a breach, to the admiration of all about him) shewing therein that true touch of the noblest nature, to love vertue in his enemies.

1074.  
Anno.  
Reg. 8.



And now seeing *Scotland* to be the especiall retraite for all Conspirators, & discontented in his Kingdome, yeelding them continuall succour, and assistance, and where his competitor *Edgar* lived, to beget and nurse perpetuall matter, for their hopes, and at hand for all advantages; he enters that Kingdome with a puissant Army; which, encountering with more necessities than forces, soone grew tyred, and both Kings, considering of what difficulties the Victory would consist, were willing to take the safest way to their ends, and upon faire overtures, to conclude a peace; Atticling for the bounds of each Kingdome, with the same title of Dominion, as in former times: All delinquents, and their partakers generally pardoned.

*Scotland before this time generally spake a kind of English.*

*Titles of honour in Scotland.*

Heere with the universall turne of alteration thus wrought in *England, Scotland* (being a part of the body of this Isle) is noted to have likewise had a share; and as in the Court of *England*, the *French* tongue became generally spoken; so in that of *Scotland* did the *English*, by reason of the multitude of this Nation, attending both the Queene and her brother *Edgar*, and dayly repaying thither for their safety, and combination against the Common enemy; of whom divers, abandoning their native distressed Countrey, were by the bounty of that King preferred; and there planted, spread their offspring into many Noble families, remayning to this day: The titles of distinguishing degrees of honour, as of Duke, Earle, Baron, Rider or Knight, were then (as is thought) first introduced; and the Nobler sort began to be called by the title of their *Signories*, (according to the *French* manner) which before bare the name of the father, with the addition of *Mar*, after the fashion of *Ireland*. Other innovations, no doubt, entred there likewise at the opening of this wide mutation of ours: fashion and imitation like weedes growing in every soyle.

1175.  
Anno  
Reg. 9.  
1176.  
Anno  
Reg. 10.  
1177.  
Anno  
Reg. 11.

Shortly after this late made peace, Prince *Edgar* voluntarily came in, and submitted himselfe to the King, being then in *Normandy*, and was restored to grace, and a faire maintenance, which held him ever after quiet. And it made well at that time for the Fortune of the King, howsoever for his owne, being thought to have ill-timed his affaires (either through want of seasonable intelligence, or despaire of successe) in making too soone that submission, which was later or never to be done. For in this absence of the King, *Roger Fits Auber*, the young Earle of *Hereford*, contrary to his expresse Commandement, gave his sister in marriage to *Ralph Waber*, Earle of *Norfolke*, & *Susfolke*, and at the great Solemnization thereof, the two Earles conspired with *Fustace* Earle of *Boloigne* (who secretly came over to this Festivall) and with the Earle *Walsheof*, and other *English* Lords, to call in the *Danes*, and by maine power to keepe out and dispossesse the King. Who having thus passed over so many gulfes of forraigne dangers, might little imagine of any wrack so neere home: and that those, whom he had most advanced, should have the especial hand in his destruction. But no rewards are benefits (that are not held so,) nor can ever cleare the accounts with them that over value their merits. And had not this opportunely beene discovered (which some say, that by the Earle *Walsheof*, mooved with the ugliness of so foule an ingratitude) they had put him againe to the winning of *England*. But now the fire bewraied before it flamed, was soone quenched by the diligence of *Odon* the Kings Vicegerent, the Bishop of *Worcester* & others, who kept the conspirators from joining their forces: So that they never came to make head, but were either surprized, or forced to flye. The Earle *Roger Fits Auber* was taken and some say, executed; and so was shortly after the Earle *Walsheof*, whose dissent from the act, could not get his pardon for his consent, though much compassion in respect

of his great worthinesse. But the wide distance of these tumors, fed from many secret veines, seemed to be of that danger, as required this extremitie of cure, especially in a part so apt for infection, upon any the like humours.

For, this Conspiracy seemes to take motion from a generall league of all the Neighbour Princes, here about, as may wel be gathered by their severall actions. First in the King of *France* by defending *Dole* in *Brittaine* (a Castle of *Ralph de Waher*) against the King of *England*, and likelihood, imploying the Earle of *Bolognet* towards the Conspirators. In *Swaine* King of *Denmarke*, by sending a Navy of two hundred sayle, under the conduct of his sonne *Knute* and others. In *Dron* King of *Ireland*, by furnishing the sonnes of *Harald* with sixty five ships. In *Malcoline*, and the Kings of *Wales*, by their readinesse to assist. But the *Danes* being on the coast, and hearing how their confederates had sped, with the great preparations the King had made, after some pillage taken upon the coasts of *England* and *Flanders*, returned home, and never after arrived to disturbe this land. Though in *Anno Reg. 19. Knute*, then King of *Denmarke*, after the death of *Swayne* (intending to repayre the dishonour of his two last adventures past) and to put for the Crowne of *England*, his predecessours had holden; prepared a Navy of a thousand sayle, and was ayded with fixe hundred more by *Robert le Frison* Earle of *Flanders* (whose daughter he had married.) But the windes held so contrary for two yeares together, as utterly quashed that enterprize, and freed the King, and his successors for ever after, from future molestation that way.

But this businesse put the State to an infinite charge, the King entertaining all that time (besides his *Normans*) *Hugh*, brother to the King of *France*, with many companies of *French*. Finding the *English* (in respect of many great Families allied to the *Danes*) to incline rather to that Nation, than the *Normans*, and had experience of the great and neere intelligence continually passing betweene them.

And these were all the warres he had within the Kingdome, saving in *An. Regni. 13.* he subdued *Wales*, and brought the Kings there, to do him homage. His wars abroad, were all about his Dominions in *France*, first raised by his owne son *Roberts*, left Lieutenant governor of the Duchy of *Normandy*, and Countie of *Mayne*; who in his fathers absence, tasting the glory of command, grew to assume the absolute rule of the Province, causing the Barons there, to do him homage (as Duke) nor as Lieutenant, and leagues him with the King of *France*, who working upon the easinesse of his youth, and ambition, was glad to apprehend that occasion to disjoynt his estate, who was growne too great for him. And the profuse largesse, and disorderly expence, where to *Roberts* was addicted, is nourished by all wayes possible as the meanes to imbarke him in those difficulties, of still getting money, that could not but yeeld continuall occasion to entertaine both his owne discontent and theirs, from whom his supplies must be raised. And though thereby he purchased the title of *Counton*, yet he lost the opinion of good government, and constrained the Estates of *Normandy*, to complaine to his Father of the great concussion, and violent exactions he used amongst them.

The King understanding the fire thus kindled in his own house, that had set others all in combustion, hastes with his Forces into *Normandy*, to have surprized his son: who adverted of his coming, furnished with 2000 men at arms by the King of *France*, lay in ambush where he should passe, sets upon him, defeated most of his people, & in the pursuit hapned to encounter with himself, whom he unhorsed, & wounded in the arme with his lance, but perceiving by his voyce it was his father, he hasted to remount him, humbly craving

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1078.  
Anno  
Reg. 12  
1079.  
Anno  
Reg. 13

The Kings of  
Wales doe ho-  
mage to King  
William.

Robert of  
Normandy ti-  
tled Count.

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1100  
11.00

1080.

Anno  
Reg. 14.Robert rebels  
against his  
Father.

1081.

Anno  
Reg. 15.

1082.

Anno  
Reg. 16Louis and  
Henry sonnes  
of the Kings  
of England  
and France.

1026.

Anno  
Reg. 10King William  
denies to doe  
homage for  
England to  
the King of  
France.

1089.

Anno  
Reg. 21.His govern-  
ment in peace

pardon for his offence: which the father (seeing in what a case he was) granted, howsoever he gave; and upon his submission tooke him with him to *Rouen*, whence, after cured of his hurt, returned with his sonne *William* (likewise wounded in the fight) into *England*.

Long was it not ere he was againe informed of his sonnes remutining, and how he exacted upon the *Normans*, usurpt the intire government, and urged his fathers promise thereof, made him before the King of *France*, upon his conquest of *England*: which caused his little stay here, but to make preparations for his returne into those parts: whether in passing he was driven on the coast of *Spain*, but at length at *Burdeaux*, with his great preparations his sonne *Robert* came in, and submitted himselfe the second time: whom he now took with him into *England*, to frame him to a better obedience, imployed him in the hard and necessitous warres of *Scotland* (the late peace being betwene the two Kings againe broken) and after sent him backe, and his young sonne *Henry*, with the association of charge and like power (but of more trust) to the government of *Normandy*.

After the two Princes had bene there a while, they went to visite the King of *France* at *Constance*; where feasting certaine dayes upon an after dinner, *Henry* won so much at Chesse of *Louis*, the Kings eldest sonne, as hee grew into Choller, called him the sonne of a Bastard, and threw the Chesse in his face. *Henry* takes up the Chesse-boord, and strake *Louis*, with that force, as drew blood, and had killed him, had not his brother *Robert* come in the meane time, and interposed himselfe: whereupon they suddenly tooke horse, and with much ado they recovered *Pontoise*, from the Kings people that pursued them. This quarrell arising upon the inter-meeting of these Princes (a thing that seldome breeds good blood amongst them) re-enkindled a heate of more rancor in the Fathers, and beganne the first warre betwene the *English* and *French*. For presently the King of *France*, complots againe with *Robert* (impatient of a partner) enters *Normandie*, and takes the Citie of *Verdon*. The King of *England* invades *France*, subdues the Country of *Zaintonge* and *Poitou*, and returns to *Rouen*, where the third time, his son *Robert* is reconciled unto him, which much disappoints and vexes the King of *France*, who thereupon, summons the King of *England* to doe him homage for the Kingdom of *England*, which he refused to doe, saying, *He had it of none but God and his sword*. For the Dutchy of *Normandie* he offers him homage: but that would not satisfie the King of *France*, whom nothing would, but what he could not have, the Maisterie: and seekes to make an occasion the motive of his quarrell: and againe invades his territories, but with more losse than profit. In the end, they conclude a certaine crazie peace, which held no longer than King *William* had recovered a sicknesse, whereinto (through his late travell, age, and corpulencie) he was fallen; at which time, the King of *France*, then young and lusty, jeasting at his great belly, whereof he sayd hee lay in at *Rouen*, so irritated him, as he being recovered, he gathers all his best forces, enters *France* in the chiefest time of their fruits, making spoyle of all in his way, till he came even to *Paris*, where the King of *France* then was, to whom he sends, to shew him of his up sitting, and from thence marches to the Citie of *Meaux*, which he utterly sackt and in the destruction thereof, gave his owne, by the straying of his horse, among the breaches, and was then conveyed sick to *Rouen*, and so ended his wars.

Now for his government in peace, and the course he held in the establishing the Kingdom thus gotten; first after he had repress the conspiracies in the North, and well quietted all the other parts of the State (which

NOW



now being absolutely his, he would have to be ruled by his owne Law) he began to governe all by the Customes of *Normandy*. Whereupon the agreed Lords, and sad people of *England*, tender their humble petition, *Be-secching him in regard of his oath made at his Coronation: And by the soule of Saint Edward, from whom he had the Crowne and Kingdome: under whose Lawes they were borne and bred; that he would not adde that misery, to deliver them up to be judged by a strange Law they understood not.* And so earnestly they wrought, that he was pleased to confirme that by his Charter, which he had twice fore-promised by his Oath: And gave commandement unto his Iusticiaries to see those Lawes of *Saint Edward* (so called, not that hee made them, but collected them out of *Merchen-law, Dane-Law, and West-sax-Law*) To be inviolably observed throughout the Kingdome. And yet notwithstanding this confirmation, and the Charters afterward granted by *Henrie the first, Henry the second, and King Iohn*, to the same effect; there followed a great innovation both in the Lawes and government in *England*, So that this seemes rather to be done to acquit the people, with a shew of the Continuation of their ancient customes and liberties, than that they enjoyed them in effect. For the little conformitie betweene them of former times, and these that followed upon this change of State, shew from what head they sprang. And though there might be some veines issuing from former originals, yet the maine streame of our Common law, with the practise thereof, flowed out of *Normandy*, notwithstanding all objections can be made to the contrary. For before these collections of the *Confessors*, there was no universall Law of the Kingdome, but every severall Province held their own customs, all the inhabitants from *Humber* to *Scotland* used the *Danike Law: Merchland*, the midst of the Country, & the State of the *West Saxons*, had their severall constitutions, as being severall Dominions; and though for some few years, there seemed to be a reduction of the *Heptarchie*, into a *Monarchie*, yet held it not so long together (as we may see in the succession of a broken government) as to settle one forme or order currant over all: but that every Province, according to their particular Founders, had their customes apart, and held nothing in common (besides Religion, and the constitutions thereof) but with the universality of *Menum & Tuum*, ordered according to the rites of nations, and that *Ius in commune*, the common law of all the world; which we see to be as universall, as are the cohabitations, and societies of men, and served the turne to hold them together in all Countries, howsoever they may differ in their formes. So that by these passages, we see what way we came, where we are, and the furthest end we can discover of the originall of our Common law, and to strive to looke beyond this, is to looke into an uncertaine Vastnesse, beyond our discerning. Nor can it detract from the glory of good Customes, if they bring but a pedigree of 600 yeares to approve their gentilitie; seeing it is the equitie, and not the Antiquity of Lawes that makes them venerable, and by the integritie of the professors thereof, the profession honored. And it were well with mankind, if dayes brought not their corruptions, and good orders were continued with that providence, as they were instituted. But this alteration of the Lawes of *England* bred most heavie dolethres, not onely in this Kings time, but long after. For whereas before, those Lawes they had, were written in their owne tongue, intelligible to all; now are they translated into *Latine* and *Frisch*, and practised wholly in the *Norman* forme and Languages, thereby to draw the people of this Kingdome, to learne that speech for their owne needs, which otherwise they would not doe, And seeing a difference

What were the Lawes of England.

The origin of the Common Law now used.

The Law of England put into a foraine language.

difference in tongue, would not continue a difference in affections; all means were wrought to reduce it to one *Idiom*, which yet was not in the power of the Conquerour to doe, without the extirpation, or over-laying the Land-bred people; who being so farre in number (as they were) above the Invaders; both retaine the maine of the Language; and in few yeares, have those who subdued them, undistinguishably theirs. For notwithstanding the former Conquest by the *Danes*, and now this by the *Norman* (the solide bodie of the Kingdome, still consisted of the *English*) and the accession of strange people, was but as rivers to the Ocean, that changed not it, but were changed into it. And though the King laboured that he could, to turn all into *French*, By enjoying their children here to use no other Language with their Grämer in Schooles, to have the Lawes practised in *French*, all petitions and business of Court in *French*, No man graced but he that spake *French*; yet soone after his dayes, all returns naturall *English* againe (but Law) and that still held forraigne; and became in the end wholly to be inclosed in that Language: nor have we now, other marke of our subjection and in vassalage from *Normandy*, but onely that, and that still speakes *French* to us in *England*.

And herewithall, *New Termes, new Constitutions, new formes of Pleas, new Offices, and Courts*, are now introduced by the *Normans*, a people more inured to litigation, & of spirits more impatient, and contentious, than were the *English*: who (by reason of their continuall war, wherein Law is not borne, and labour to defend the publicke) were more at unitie in their private: and that small time of peace they had, Devotion, and good fellowship entertained. For their Lawes and Constitutions before, wee see them, plaine, brieft, and simple, without perplexities, having neither fold nor pleit; commanding; not disputing: Their grants and transactions as brieft and simple, which shewed them a cleare-meaning people, retaining still the nature of that plaine realnesse they brought with them, uncomposed of other fashion than their owne, and unaffeeting imitation.

And for their trials (in cases criminall) where manifest prooffe failed, they continued their auncient Custome, held from before their Christianity (untill this great alteration) which trials they called *Ordeals*; Or (signifying) *Right Deale*, Part, whereof they had these kinds: Ordeal by fire which was for the better sort, and by water for the inferiour: That of Fire, was to goe blindfold over certaine plough-shares, made red hote, and laide an uneven distance one from another. That of Water was either of hote, or cold: in the one to put their armes to the elbow, in the other to be cast headlong. According to their escapes or hurts, they were adjudged: Such as were cast into the rivers, if they sanke were held guiltlesse, if not, culpable, as ejected by that Element. These trials they called the judgements of God, and they were performed with solemn Oraisons. In some cases The accused was admitted to cleere himselfe by receiving the Eucharist, or by his owne Oath, or the Oathes of two or three; but this was for speciall persons, and such, whose livings were of a rate allowable thereunto, the usuall opinion perswading them, that men of abilitie held a more regard of honesty.

With these, they had the trial of Campe-fight, or single combat (which likewise the *Lombards*, originally of the same German Nation, brought into Italy) permitted by the Law, in cases either of safety, and fame, or of possessions. All which trials, shewed them to be ignorant in any other forme of Law, or to neglect it; nor would they be induced to forgoe these Customes, and determine their affaires by Imperiall or Pontificall Constitutions, no more than would the *Lombards* forsake their duellary Lawes in Italy, which their

Princes

The English trials in cases Criminall.

Men of abilitie cleared by their Oathes.

Princes (against some of their wills) were constrained to ratifie, as *Loy-prandus* their King thus ingeniously confesses: *We are uncertaine of the judgement of God, and wee have heard many by fight, to have lost their cause; yet in respect of the Custome of our Nation, we cannot avoide an unspitious Law.* But all these Formes of judgements and trials, had their seasons: those of Fire and Water, in short time after the Conquest, grew dis-used, and in the end utterly abrogated by the Pope; as derived from Paganisme: That of Combat continued longer-lived, but of no ordinarie use: And all actions now, both criminall and reall, beganne to be wholly adjudged by the verdict of twelve men, according to the custome of *Normandy*, where the like forme is used, and called by the name of *Enquest*, with the same cautions for the Jurors, as it is here continued to this day. Although some hold opinion, that this forme of triall, was of use in this Kingdome from all Antiquitie, and alledge an Ordinance of King *Ethelred* (Father to the Confessor) willing in their Gemote or conventions, monethly held in every Hundred, twelve grave men of free condition, should with the Greve, the Chiefe Officer amongst them, swear upon the Evangelists, to judge every mans cause aright. But here we see twelve men were to be assessors with the Greve to judge, and no Jurors, according to this manner of triall now used; Besides, had there beene any such forme, we should aswell have heard thereof in their Lawes and practise, as of those other kinds of *Ordeall*, onely and usually mentioned.

The English trials.

But whatsoever innovations were in all other things; the government of the peace & security of the Kingdome (which most imported the King to looke to) seemes to be continued as before, & for that busines he found here better Lawes established, by the wary care of our former Kings, than any he could bring. Amongst which especially was the *Borough Law*, whereby every free man of the Commons stood as surety for each others behaviour, in this sort.

The continuation of the Law for the peace.

The Borough Law of the Saxons.

The Kingdome was divided into Shieres or Shares, every Shiere consisting of so many Hundreds, and every Hundred of a number of Boroughs, Villages, or Tythings, containing ten houtholders, whereof, if any one should commit an unlawfull act, the other nine were to attach and bring him to reason: If he fled, thirty one dayes were enjoyned him to appeare: if in the meane time apprehended, he was made to restore the damage done; otherwise the Free-borough-head (to say the Tything-man) was to take with him two of the same Village, and out of three other Villages next adjoining as many (that is the Tything-man, and two other of the principall men) and before the Officers of that Hundred, purge himselfe and the Village of the fact, restoring the damage done with the goods of the malefactor; which, if they sufficed not to satisfy, the Free-borough, or Tything, must make up the rest, and besides take an oath to be no way accessory to the fact, and so produce the Offendor, if by any meanes they could recover him, or know where he were. Besides, every Lord and Master, Rood Borough, for all his Family, whereof, if any servant were called in question, the Master was to see him answer it in the Hundred, where he was accused. If he fled, the Master was to yeild such goods as he had to the King. If himselfe were accused to be aiding or privie to his servants flight, he was to cleare himselfe by five men, otherwise to forfeit all his goods to the King, and his man to be out-lawed.

Saxon Lawes.

Lambert.

These linkes thus intermutually fastened, made so strong a chaine to hold the whole Frame of the State together in peace and order, as, all the most politike regiments upon earth, all the inter-leagued Societies of men, cannot shew us a straighter Forme of combination. This might make the Conquerour, coming upon a people (thus Law-bound hand and foote) to establish him, so soone, and easily as he did; This *Borough-law* (being as a

Cittadell,



No popular  
insurrection  
before the  
Conquest.

The meanes  
used by the  
Normans, to  
establish his  
Conquest.  
Alteration of  
the Govern-  
ment.

The order of  
deciding con-  
troverſies in  
the Saxons  
time.

New orders  
instituted by  
the Normans.

The alterati-  
on of Tenures

Lambert.  
Freehold.

The Tenure  
of Gavel kin.

The customes  
of Kent pre-  
served by the  
mediation of  
the Archbi-  
shop Stigand.

Cittadell, built to guard the Common-wealth; comming to be posselt by a Conquering Master) was made to turn all this Ordinance upon the State, and batter her selfe with her owne weapon: and this Law may be some cause, we find no popular insurrection before the Cōquest. For had not this people beene bound with these Fetters, and an idle peace (but had lived loose, and in action) it is like they would have done as nobly, and given as many, and as deepe wounds ere they lost their Country, as ever the Brittaines did, either against the Romans, or the Saxons, their predeceſſours, or themselves had done against the Danes; a people farre more powerfull, and numerous than these. The Conquerour, without this, had not made it the worke of one day, nor had Normandy ever beene able to have yeelded those multitudes for supplies, that many battailes must have had.

But now, *First, the executing this Law. Secondly, dis-weaponing the Commons. Thirdly, preventing their night-meetings with a heavy penalty, that everie man at the day closing, should cover his fire, and depare to his rest. Fourthly, erecting divers Fortresses, in fit parts of the Kingdome. Fifthly, col- lating all offices, both of command, and judicature, on those who were his, made his domination such as he would have it.*

And where before the Bishop and the Alderman were the absolute Iudges to determine all businesse in every Shire, and the Bishop in many cases shared in the benefits of the Mulcts with the King; now he confined the Clergy, within the Province of their owne Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, to deale onely in businesse concerning rule of soules, according to the Canons, and Lawes Episcopall.

And whereas the causes of the Kingdome were before determined in every Shire, and by a Law of King Edward Senior, all matters in question should, upon especiall penalty, without further deferment, be finally decided in their Gemote, or conventions held monthly in every hundred: now he ordained; *That foure times in the yeare, for certaine dayes, the same businesse should be determined in such place as hee would appoint, where hee constituted Iudges to attend for that purpose, and others, from whom, as from the bosome of the Prince, all litigators should have Justice, and from whom was no appeale. Others hee appointed for the punishment of malefactors, called Iusticiarij Pacis.*

What alteration was then made in the tenure of mens possessions, or since introduced, we may find by taking note of their former usances. *Our Ancestors had only two kindes of tenures, Book-land, and Folk-land, the one a possession by writing, the other without. That by writing was a free-hold, and by Charter, hereditary, with all immunities, and for the free and nobler sort. That without writing, was to hold at the will of the Lord, bound to rents and services, and was for the rurall people. The inheritances descended not alone, but after the German manner, equally divided to all the children, which they called Land-skiftan, to say, Part-land, a custome yet continued in some places of Kent, by the name of Gavel-kin, of Gifeal kin: And hereupon some write how the people of that Country, retained their ancient lawes and liberties, by especiall grant from the Conquerour, who after his battell at Hastings, comming to Dover, to make all sure on that side, was incompassed by the whole people of that Province, carrying boughes of trees in their hands, & marching round about him like a moving wood. With which strange and sodaine shew being much moved, the Arch-bishop Stigand, and the Abbot Egelſin, who had raised this commotion by shewing the the people in what danger they were, utterly to lose their liberties, & to endure the perpetuall misery of servitude, under the domination*

domination of strangers) present themselves, and declared, *How they were the universall people of the Country, gathered together in that manner with boughes in their hands; either as Olive branches of intercession, for peace and liberty, or to intangle him in his passage, with resolution rather to leave their lives, than that which was dearer, their freedom.* Whereupon they say, the Conqueror granted them the continuation of their former Customes and Liberties: whereof, notwithstanding they now retaine no other, than such as are common with the rest of the Kingdome.

For such as were Tenants at the will of their Lords (which now growne to a greater number, and more miserable than before) upon their petition and compassion of their oppression he releev'd, their case was this: All such as were discovered to have had a hand in any rebellion, and were pardoned, onely to enjoy the benefit of life, having all their lively-hood taken from them, became vassals unto those Lords to whom the possessions were given; of all such Lands forfeited by attainders. And if by their diligent service, they could attaine any portion of ground; they held it but onely so long as it pleased their Lords, without having any estate for themselves, or their children; and were oftentimes violently cast out upon any small displeasure, contrary to all right: whereupon it was ordained, that whatsoever they had obtained of their Lords, by their obsequious service, or agreed for by any lawfull pact, they should hold by an inviolable Law, during their own lives.

The next great worke after the ordering his Lawes, was the raising and disposing of his revenues, taking a course to make, and know the utmost of his estate, by a generall survey of his Kingdome, whereof he had a president by the *Dome Booke of Winchester*, taken before by King *Alfred*. But as one day informes another, so these actions of profit grew more exact in their after practise: and a larger Commission is granted, a choise of skilfuller men employed, to take the particulars both of his owne possessions, and every mans else in the Kindome, the nature and the qualitie of their lands, their estates, and abilities; besides the descriptions, bounds, and divisions of Shires, and Hundreds, and this was drawne into one booke, and brought into his treasury, then newly called the *Exchequer* (according to the *soveraigne Court* of that name of *Normandy*) before termed here *Talèr*, and it was called the *Dome booke* (*Liber judicarius*) for all occasions concerning these particulars.

All the Forrests and Chafes of the Kingdome, he seized into his owne possession; and exempted them from being under any other Law than his owne pleasure, to serve as *Penetralia Regum*, the withdrawing Chambers of Kings, to recreate them after their serious labours in the State, where none other might presume to have to do, and where all punishments and pardons of delinquents were to be disposed by himselfe, absolutely, and all former customes abrogated; and to make his command the more, he increased the number of them in all the parts of the Land, and on the South coast dispeopled the Country for above thirtie miles space, making of old inhabited possessions, a new Forrest, inflicting most severe punishments for hunting his Deere, and thereby much advances his revenues. An act of the greatest concussion, and tyranny, he committed in his reigne, and which purchased him much hatred. And the same course held (almost every King neere the Conquest) till this heavy grievance was allayed by the Charter of Forrests, granted by *Henry the third*.

Besides these, he imposed no new taxations on the Statē, and used those he found very moderately, as *Danegelt*, an imposition of two shillings upon every

Gerulfus  
Tilbariensis.  
Dialog. Scacc.

Villanage.

A survey  
made of the  
Kingdome.

Gerulfus  
Tilbariensis.  
de Scacc.  
Dome booke.

ibid.

The new for-  
rest in Ham-  
shire.

He imposed  
no new taxa-  
tions.

The occasion  
of paying  
*Escuage*.

The customes  
of Fifts.

By what  
meanes hee  
increased his  
Revenewes.

The Law for  
murther re-  
mued, first  
made by King  
*Keute*.

*Gervasius*  
Tilb.

King *William*  
seized upon  
the Treasurie  
committed to  
Monasteries.

every hide or plough-land (raised first by King *Ethelred*, to bribe the *Danes*, after to warre upon them) he would not have it made an annuall payment, but onely taken upon urgent occasion, and it was seldome gathered in his time, or his successours (saith *Gervasius*;) yet we finde in our Annals, a taxe of sixe shillings upon every head-land, leaved presently after the generall survey of the Kingdome. *Escuage* (whether it were an imposition formerly laide, though now newly named, I doe not finde) was a summe of money, taken of every Knights Fee: In after times, especially raised for the service of *Scotland*; And this also, saith *Gervasius*, was seldome leaved but on great occasion, for stipends, and donatives to souldiers: yet was it at first a due, reserved out of such lands as were given by the Prince for service of warre, according to the Customes of other Nations. As in the *Romans* time we finde Lands were given in reward of services to the men of warre, for terme of their lives, as they are at this day in *Turkey*. After they became patrimoniall, and hereditary to their children. *Severus* the Emperour was the first who permitted the children of men of warre, to enjoy their Fifts, provided that they followed armes. *Constantine* to reward his principall Captaines, granted them a perpetuity in the Lands assigned them. The estates which were but for life, were made perpetuall in *France*, under the last Kings of the race of *Charlemaine*. Those Lords who had the great Fifts of the King, subdivided them to other persons, of whom they were to have service.

Mulctuary profits besides, such as might arise by the breach of the Forrest-lawes, he had, few or none new, unlesse that of murther, which arose upon this occasion. In the beginning of his reigne, the rankor of the *English* towards the new-come *Normans*, was such, as finding them single in woods, or remote places, they secretly murtherd them; & the deed doers (for any the severest courses taken) could never be discovered: Whereupon, it was ordained, that the Hundred, wherein a *Norman* was found slaine, and the murtherer not taken, should be condemned to pay to the King, some 26. pounds, some 28. pounds, according to the quantity of the Hundred; that the punishment being generally inflicted, might particularly deter them, and hasten the discovery of the malefactor, by whom so many must (otherwise) be interessed.

For his provisionary revenewes, he continued the former custome held by his Predecessors, which was in this manner. The Kings Tenants, who held the Lands of the Crown, paid no money at all; but onely Vltuals, Wheate, Beefes, Muttons, Hay, Oates, &c: And a just note of the qualitie and quantitie of every mans ratement was taken throughout all the Shires of the kingdome, and leaved ever certaine, for the maintenance of the Kings Houle. Other ordinary In-come of ready moneyes was there none, but what was raised by mulcts, and out of Cities and Castles where Agriculture was not used: what the Church yeelded him, was by extent of a power that never reached so farre before; and the first hand, he laid upon that side which weighed heavily, was his seizing upon the Plate, Jewels, and Treasure within all the Monasteries of *England*, pretending the Rebels and their assistants, and free their riches into these religious houses (as into places priviledged conveyed from seizure) to defraud him thereof.

Besides this, he made all Bishopricks, and Abbyes that held Barronies (before that time free from all secular services) contributory to his warres, and his other occasions. And this may be the cause why they, who then onely held the Pen (the Scepter, that rules over the memorie of Kings) have laid such an eternall imposition upon his name, of rigour, oppression, and even



even barbarous immanitie, as they have done. When the nature and necessary disposition of his affayres (being as he was) may advocate for him, and in many things much excuse his courses. But this name of Conquest, which ever imports violence and misery, is of so harsh a sound, and so odious in nature, as a people subdued cannot give a Conqueror his due (how ever worthy) and especially to a stranger, whom onely time must naturalize, and incorporate by degrees, into their liking and opinion. And yet therein this King was greatly advantaged, by reason of his twenty yeares government, which had much impaired the Memory of former Customes in the younger sort, and well inured the elder to the present usances and forme of State, whereby the rule was made more easie to his sonnes: who (though they were farre inferior to him in worth) were somewhat better beloved, than he; and the rather, for that their occasions made them, somewhat to unwrest the Sovereignty from that height, whereunto he had strayned it.

Now he was underfet with able Ministers for the managing of these great affaires of his, though time hath shut us out from the knowledge of some of them (it being in the Fortune of Kings, to have their Ministers like Rivers in the Ocean, buried in their glory) yet no doubt, being of a strong constitution of Iudgement, he could not but be strongly furnished in that kind; for weak Kings have ever weak sides, and the most renowned Princes are alwayes best stored with able Ministers. The principall of highest imploiment, were *Odon*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, and the Earle of *Kent*: *Lanfranc* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *William Fitz Anser*, Earle of *Hereford*: *Odon* supplied the place of Viceroy in the Kings absence, and had the management of the Treasurie: A man of a wide and agile spirit, let out into as spacious a conceipt of greatness, as the heighth of his place could shew him: And is rumored by the infinite accumulation of mony (which his avarice and length of office had made) either to buy the Popedome, or to purchase the people of *England* upon the death of the King his brother: who (understanding hee had a purpose of going to *Rome*, and seeing a mighty confluence of Followers gathering unto him) made a close prison stay his journey: excusing it to the Church, that he imprisoned not a Bishop of *Bayeux*, but an Earle of *Kent*, an Officer accomptant unto him. Yet upon his death-bed shortly following (after many obsecrations, that he would, in respect of blood and nature, be a kind mean for the future peace of his sons) he released him.

But the Bishop failed his request therein, and became the onely kindle-fire to set them all into more furious combustion. The motive of his discontent (the engine wherewith all Ambition evermore turnes about her intentions) was the envy he bare to *Lanfranc*, whose counsell, in his greatest Affaires, the King especially used: and to oppose and over-beare him, hee tooke all the contrary courses, and part with *Robert*, his Nephew, whom (after many fortunes) he attended to the holy Warre, and dyed in the siede of *Antioch*.

*Lanfranc* was a man of as universall goodnesse, as learning, borne in *Lombardy*, and came happily a stranger, in these strange times to doe good to *England*; upon whose observance, though the King might (in regard hee raised him) lay some tye, yet his affections could not but take part with his piety and place: in so much as he feared not to oppose against *Odon* the Kings brother, seeking to gripe from the State of his Church; and in all he could, stood so betweene the Kingdome and the Kings rigor, as stayed many precipitious violences, that he (whose power lay as wide as his will) might else have fallen into. For the Conquerour (howsoever austere to others) was to him alwayes milde and yeelding, as if subdued with gravity and vertue.

His Counsellors.

The Bishop of *Bayeux* as an Earle of *Kent*, committed to Prison.

Reserved for greater mischief.

*Lanfranc*.

The reformation  
of the  
Clergy by  
Lanfranc.

He reformed the irregularity, and rudenesse of the Clergy, introducing a more Southerne formality and respect, according to his breeding, and the Custome of his Country: concurring herein likewise to be an Actor of alteration (though in the best kinde) with this change of State. And to give certainty to devotion, he did all he could to furnish his Church with the most exquisite ornaments might be procured: added a more State and conveniency to the structure of religious houses, and beganne the Founding of Hospitals. Having long struggled, with indefatigable labour, to hold things in an even course, during the whole Reigne of this busie new State-building King: and after his Death, seeing his Successour in the Crowne (established especially by his meanes) to fayle his expectation; out of the experience of worldly causes, divining of future mischiefs by present courses, grew much to lament (with his Friends) the tediousnesse of life, which shortly after hee mildly left, with such a sicknesse, as neither hindred his speech nor memory: a thing he would often desire of God.

William Fitz  
Auber Earle  
of Hereford  
made Lawes  
in his Province.

William Fitz Auber (as is delivered) was a principall Counsellor and instrument in this action for England; wherein he furnished forty ships at his owne charge. A man of great meanes, yet of a heart greater, and a hand larger than any meanes would well suffice. His profuse liberalities to men of armes, gave often sharpe offence to the King, who could not endure any such improvident expences. Amongst the Lawes hee made (which shewes the power these Earles then had in their Provinces) he ordayned, *That in the Countie of Hereford, no man of warre (or souldier) should be fined for any offence whatsoever above seven shillings*; when in other Countries, upon the least occasion of disobeying their Lords will, they were forced to pay 20. or 25. shillings. But his estate seeming to beare no proportion with his minde, and enough it was not to be an eminent Earle, an especiall Counsellor in all the affaires of England and Normandy, a chiefe Favorite to so great a Monarch, but that larger hopes drew him away; designing to marry Richeld, Countesse Dowager of Flanders, and to have the government of that Country, during the non-age of Arnulph her son; of whom, with the King of France, he had the tutelary charge committed by Baldouin the sixth, Father to Arnulph; whose estate Robert le Frison his unckle (called by the people to the government, upon the exactions inflicted on them by Richeld) had usurped. And against him Fitz Auber opposing, was with Arnulph surprized and slaine.

The death of  
William the  
first.

And this was in the Fate of the Conqueror, to see most of all these great men, who had beene the especiall Actors in all his Fortunes, spent and extinct before him; As Beaumont, Monfort, Harcourt, Hugh de Gournay, Vicount Neele, Hugh de Mortimer, Conte de Vannes, &c. And now himselfe, after his being brought sicke to Rouen, and there disposing his estate, ended also his act in the 74. yeare of his age, and the one and twenty of his Reigne.

His Corps  
lay unburied  
three dayes.

Three dayes the Corpses of this great Monarch is sayd to have laine neglected, while his servants attending to imbeasle his moveables: in the end, his yongest sonne Henry, had it conveyed to the Abbey of Canes; where first at the entry into the Towne, they who carried the Corpses, left it alone, and ran to quench a house on fire: Afterward brought to bee intombed, a Gentleman stands forth, and in sterne manner, forbids the interment in that place, claiming the ground to be his Inheritance, descended from his Ancestors, and taken from him at the building of that Abbey; appealing to Row, their first Founder for Iustice: Whereupon, they were faine to compound with him for an Annuall rent. Such adoe had the body of him after death (who  
had

His interment  
hindred.

had made so much in his life) to be brought to the earth; and of all he attained, had not now a room to containe him, without being purchased at the hand of another, men esteeming a living Dog more than a dead Lyon.

He had a faire Issue by *Maude* his wife, foure sonnes, and six daughters. To *Robert* his eldest, he lefeth the Dúchy of *Normandy*; to *William* the third son, the Kingdome of *England*; to *Henry* the yongest, his treasure, with an annuall pension to be payd him by his Brother. *Richard* who was his second Sonne, and his darling, a Prince of great hope, was slaine by a Stagge hunting in the new Forrest, and began the fatallesse that followed in that place, by the death of *William* the second, there slaine with an arrow; and of *Richard* the sonne of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, who brake his necke.

His Issue.

His eldest daughter *Cecile*, became a Nun; *Constance* married to the Earle of *Brittain*; *Adula* to *Stephen* Earle of *Blois*, who likewise rendred her selfe a Nun in her age; such was then their devotion, and so much were these solitary retires affected by the greatest Ladies of those times: *Gundred* married to *William de Warren*, the first Earle of *Surry*, the other two, *Ela* or *Adeliza* and *Margaret* dyed before marriage.

Now, what he was in the circle of himselfe in his owne continent, we finde him of an even stature, comely personage, of good presence, riding, sitting or standing, till his corpulency increasing with age, made him somewhat unweildy, of so strong a constitution, as he was never sickly till a few moneths before his death. His strength such, as few men could draw his Bow, and being about 50. of his age, when he subdued this Kingdome, it seemes by his continuall actions, hee felt not the weight of yeares upon him till his last yeare.

The description of William the first.

What was the composition of his minde; we see it (the fairest) drawne in his actions, and how his abilities of Nature, were answerable to his undertakings of Fortune, as pre-ordained for the great work he effected. And though he might have some advantage of the time, wherein wee often see men prevaile more by the imbecility of others, than their owne worth; yet let the season of that world be well examined, and a just measure taken out of his active vertues, they will appeare of an exceeding proportion: Nor wanted he those incounters and concurrences of sufficient able Princes, to put him to the triall thereof: Having on one side the *French* to grapple withall; on the other the *Danes*, far mightier in people and shipping than himselfe, strongly sided in this Kingdome; as eager to recover their former footing here, as ever, and as well or better prepared.

For his devotion and mercy, the brightest Starres in the Spheare of Majesty, they appeare above all his other vertues, and the due observation of the first, the Clergy (that loved him not) confesse: the other was scene, in the often pardoning, and receiving into grace, those (who rebelled against him) as if he held submission satisfactory, for the greatest offence, and sought not to defeat men, but their enterprizes: For we finde but one Noble man executed in all his Reigne, and that was the Earle *Waltheof*, who had twice falsified his Faith before: and those he held prisoners in *Normandy*, as the Earles *Morchar* and *Synard*, with *Wolnoth*, the brother of *Harold*, and others (upon compassion of their indurance) he released a little before his death.

His devotion and mercy.

But one Noble man executed in all the time of this Kings Reigne.

Besides, he was as farre from suspicion, as cowardize, and of that confidence (an especiall note of his Magnanimity) as he gave *Edgar* his Competitor in the Crowne, the liberty of his Court: And (upon his suite) sent him well furnished to the holy War, where he nobly behaved himselfe, and attained to great estimation, with the Emperours of *Greece* and *Almaine*; which



His workes  
of Piety.

might have beene held dangerous in respect of his alliances that way, being grand-child to the Emperour *Henry* the third. But these may be as well vertues of the Time, as of Men, and so the age must have part of this commendations.

He was a Benefactor to nine Abbeyes of Monkes, and one of Nunnes, founded by his Predecessors in *Normandy*, and during his owne time were founded in the same Province, seven Abbeyes of Monkes and six of Nunnes; with which Fortresses (as he sayd) hee furnisht *Normandy*; to the end men might therein fight against the flesh, and the Divell. In *England* he founded a goodly Abbey, where he fought his first Battell, whereof it had the Denomination; and two Nunneries, one at *Hinching-brooke* in *Huntingdon-shiere*, and the other at *Armthew* in *Cumberland*, besides his other publike workes.

Magnificent he was in his Festivals, which with great solemnity and Ceremony (the formall entertayners of reverence and respect) he duly observed: Keeping his *Christmas* at *Glocester*, his *Easter* at *Winchester*, and *Pentecost* at *Westminster*: whither he summoned his whole Nobility; that Embassadors and strangers might see his State and largesse. Nor ever was he more milde and indulgent, than at such times. And these Ceremonies his first Successor observed; but the second omitted.

*The end of the Life, and Reigne of William the first.*

### The Life and Reigne of William the second.

1087.  
Anno  
Reg. 1.



*William* the second, sonne to *William* the first, not attending his Fathers Funerall, hasts into *England* to recover the Crowne, where (by the especiall mediation of the Arch-Bishop *Lanfranc*, his owne large bounty, and wide promises) hee obtained it, according to his Fathers will; to whom by his obsequiousnesse hee had much indeared himselfe, especially after the abdication of his elder brother *Robert*. Hee was a Prince more gallant than good, and having beene bred with the Sword, alwayes in action, and on the better side of Fortune, was of a Nature rough and haughty, whereunto, his youth and Sovereignty added a greater wildenesse. Comming to succede in a Government, fore-ruled by Mature and grave Counsell, he was so over-whelmed with his Fathers worth and greatnesse, as made him appeare of a lesser Orbe than otherwise hee would have done. And then the shortnesse of his Reigne, being but of thirteene yeares, allowed him not time to recover that opinion, which the errors of the first government had lost, or his necessities caused him to commit. For the succession in right of *Primogeniture*, being none of his, and the elder brother living: howsoever his Fathers will was, hee must now bee put, and held in possession of the Crowne of *England*, by the Will of the Kingdome; which to purchase (must be) by large conditions of releevements in generall, and profuse gifts in particular. Wherein hee had the more to doe, being to deale with a State consisting of a two-fold body, and different temperaments (where any inflammation of discontent, was the more apt to take,) having a head whereunto it might readily gather. Which made, that unlesse he would lay more to their hopes than another, hee could not hope to have them firmly his. And therefore seeing the best way to win the *Normans*, was by money, and the *English*, with liberties, he spared not at first, to bestow on the one, & to promise the other, more than befitted his estate and dignity; which, when afterward failing, both in supplies (for great givers must alwayes give

give) and also in performances, got him farre more hatred than otherwise he could ever have had, being forced to all dishonorable shifts for rayfing monyes that could be devised, and even to resume his owne former grants.

And to begin at first to take the course to be ever needy, presently after his Coronation, he goes to *Winchester*, where his Fathers Treasure lay, and empties out all that, which, with great providence was there amassed: whereby, though hee swonne the love of many, hee lost more, being not able to content all. And now although his brother *Robert* had not (this great engine) mony, he had to give hopes; and there were heere of the *Normans*, as *Odon* his Vnckle, *Roger de Montgomery* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, with others, who were mainly for him, and worke he doth all he can, to batter his brothers fortunes upon their first foundation. And for this purpose borrowes great summes of his younger brother *Henry* (to whom the Father & the Mother had left much treasure) and for the same, ingages the Country of *Constantine*, and leavies an army for England. But *William* newly invested in the Crowne, though well prepared for all assaults, had rather purchase a present peace (by mediation of the Nobles on both sides) till time had better settled him in his government than to raise spirits that could not easily be allayed. And an agreement betweene them is wrought, that *William* should hold the Crowne of England during his life, paying to *Robert* three thousand markes *Per annum*.

*William* the second resumes his owne Grants.

*Robert* of *Normandy* borrowes summes of his brother *Henry* to purchase the kingdom of England.

*Robert* having closed this businesse, resumes by force the Country of *Constantine*, out of his brother *Henries* hands, without discharge of those summes; for which he had ingaged it. Whereupon King *William* upbraids *Henry* (with the great gaine he had made by his usury) in lending mony to deprive him of his Crowne. And so *Henry* got the hatred of both his brothers, and having no place safe from their danger where to live; surprized the Castle of Mount *Saint Michel*, fortifies him therein, gets ayde of *Hugh* Earle of *Brittaine*, and for his mony was served with *Brittaines*, who committed great spoyles in the Countreyes of *Constantine* and *Beffin*.

*Odon*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, returning into England, after his imprisonment in *Normandy*, and restored to his Earldome of *Kent*, finding himselfe so far under what he had beene, and *Laufanc* his concurrent, now the only man in counsell with the King, complots with as many *Norman* Lords as he found, or made to affect change, and a new maister, and sets them on worke in divers parts of the Realme, to distract the Kings Forces: as first *Geffery* Bishop of *Constance*, with his Nephew *Robert de Mowbray* Earle of *Northumberland*, fortifie themselves in *Bristol*, and take in all the Country about: *Roger de Bigod*, made himselfe strong in *Northfolke*: *Huge de Grandemoull* about *Lycester*: *Roger de Montgomery* Earle of *Shrewsbury* with a power of *Welshmen*, and other thereabout, sets out accompanied with *William* Bishop of *Durham*, *Bernard de Newmarch*, *Roger Lacie*, and *Ralph Mortimer* all *Normans*, and assaile the City of *Worcester*, making themselves strong in those parts. *Odon* himselfe fortifies the Castle of *Rocheſter*, makes good all the Coasts of *Kent*, solicits *Robert* to use what speede he could to come with all his power out of *Normandy*: which had he done in time, and not given his brother so large opportunity of prevention, he had carried the Kingdome; but his delay yeelds the King time to confirme him Friends, under worke his enemies, and make himselfe strong with the *English*, which hee did by granting relaxation of tribute, with other releivements of their doleances, and restoring them to their former freedome of hunting in all his woods and Forrests; a thing they much esteemed; whereby he made them so strongly his, as soone hee brake the necke of all the *Norman* conspiracies (they being egar to revenge them

*Odon* for mallice to *Laufanc*, seeks to distract the Kings forces.

The King underworks his enemies, by relieving the toleagues, and granting former freedoms for the *English*.

them of that Nation) and here they learned first to beate their Conquerors, having the faire advantage of this action, which cut the throates of many of them.

1088.  
Anno  
Reg. 1.

*Montgomery*, being won from his complices, and the severall conspirators in other parts, repress, the King comes with an Army into *Kent*, where the head of the Faction lay, and first wonne the Castle of *Tanbridge*, and that of *Pemssey*, which *Odon* was forced to yeeld, and promise to caule those which defended that of *Rochester*, which were *Eustace Earle of Bologne*, and the Earle of *Mortaigne*, to render likewise the same. But being brought thither to effect the businesse, they within, receiving him, detained him, as he pretended, prisoner, and held out stoutly against the King upon a false intelligence given of the arrivall of Duke *Robert* at *Southampton*; but in the end they were forced to quit the place, and to retire into *France*, and *Odon* to abjure *England*.

And to keepe off the like danger from hence, he transports his Forces into *Normandy*, there to waste and weaken his brother at home. So, as hee might hold him from any further attempts abroad for ever after. Where first he obtaines *Saint Valery*, and after *Albemarle* with the whole Country of *Eu*, *Fescampe*, the *Abbatie* of mount *Saint Michel*, *Cherburge*, and other places. *Robert* seekes aide of *Phillip King of France*, who comes downe with an army, into *Normandy*; but overcome with the power of money wherewith King *William* assayled him, did him little good, and so retired.

Duke Robert  
driven to  
peace.

1089  
Anno  
Reg. 3.  
1091.  
Anno  
Reg. 4.

Whereupon Duke *Robert*, in the end, was driven to a dishonourable peace, concluded at *Carn*, with these Articles. First, that King *William* should hold the Country of *Eu*, *Fescampe*, and all other places which he had bought, and were delivered unto him by *William Earle of Eu*, and *Steven Earle of Aumal*, sisters sonne to *William the first*. Secondly, he should aide the Duke to recover all other peeces which belonged to his Father, and were usurped from the *Dutchy*. Thirdly, that such *Normans*, as had lost their estates in *England*, by taking part with the Duke, should be restored therunto. Fourthly, that the survivor of either of them should succede in the Dominions both of *England* & *Normandy*. After this peace made by the mediation of the King of *France*, whilst *William* had a strong Army in the field, Duke *Robert* requested his ayde against their brother *Henry*, who still kept him in the Fort of *Michel*, upon his guard, holding it best for his safety: For being a Prince that could not subsist of himselfe (as an earthen vessell set amongst Iron pots) he was every way in danger to be cruelt; and seeing he had lost both his brothers by doing the one a kindnesse, if he should have tooke to either (their turne being served) his owne might be in hazard: and so betooke him to this defence. Forty dayes the two Princes layd sledge to this Castle; and one day, as the King was alone on the shore, there sallies out of the Fort, a Company of horse, whereof three ran at him so violently, and all strooke his horse together with their Launces, as they brake pectorall, girdles, and all, that the horse slips away, and leaves the King, and the Saddle on the ground: the King takes up the saddle with both hands, and therewith defends himselfe till rescue came; and being blamed by some of his people for putting himselfe thus in perill of his life to save his saddle, answered: *It would have angered him, the Bretons should have bragged, they had wonne the saddle from under him; and how great an indignity it was, for a King to suffer inferiours to force any thing from him.*

The Kings  
undaunted  
valor.

The King and  
his two bre-  
thren agreed.

In the end *Henry* grew to extreme want of drinke and water, although he had all other provision sufficient within his Fort, and sends to Duke *Robert* that he might have his necessity supplied. The Duke sends him a Tun of wine,



wine, and grants him truce for a day to furnish him with water. Where-  
with William being displeased, Duke Robert told him: *It was hard to deny a  
brother meate and drinke which craved it; and that if he perisht, they had not a  
brother.* Wherewith William likewise relenting, they sent for Henry, and  
agreement is made: *That he should hold in mortgage the country of Constantine  
till the money was payd, and a day appointed to receive it at Rouen.*

Which accord King William the rather wrought, to draw as much from  
Robert as he might, whom by this voyage he not onely had wasted, but pos-  
sessed himselfe of a safe and continuall landing place, with a part of his Duchy:  
and caused him to put from him, and banish out of Normandy, Edgar Athe-  
ling, whom Robert held his Prisoner, and as a stone in his hand, upon all oc-  
casions to threaten William with anothers right, if his owne prevailed not:  
And besides, hee wrought so, as eyther through promise of money, or some  
farther ratification to bee made here, he brought his brother Robert with  
him over into England, and tooke him along in an expedition against Malcol-  
m, who had incroched upon his territories, during his absence. Which  
business being determined without battell, Robert, soone after returns  
much discontented into Normandy, and as it seemes, without moty to satis-  
fie his brother Henry. Who repairing to Rouen at a day appointed, instead  
of receiuing it, was committed to prison, and before he could be released,  
forced to renounce the Country of Constantine, and Iware never to claime  
any thing in Normandy.

Henry complains of this grosse injustice, to Philip King of France, who  
gave him a faire entertainment in his Court. Where he remained not long,  
but that a Knight of Normandy named Huchard, undertaking to put him into  
a Fort (maugre his brother Robert) within the Duchy, conveyed him dis-  
guised out of the Court, and wrought so, as the Castle Dampfrant was deli-  
vered unto him: whereby shortly after, he got all the Country of Passays,  
about it, and a good part of Constantine, by the secret ayde of King William,  
Richard de Rivieres, and Roger de Manneville.

Duke Robert levies Forces, and eagerly wrought to recover Dampfrant,  
but finding how Henry was underfet, inveighs against the perfidie of his bro-  
ther of England: in so much as the flame of rancor burst out againe more than  
ever. And over passes King William with a great army, but rather to terri-  
fie, than to doe any great matter, as a Prince that did more commend than war:  
and would be great with the sword, yet seldome desired to use it; if he could  
get to his ends by any other meanes, seeking rather to buy his peace than  
win it.

Many skirmishes interpassed, with surprizements of Castles; but in the  
end a treaty of peace was propounded: where in to make his conditions, what  
he would, King William seemes hard to be wrought, and makes the more  
shew of Force; sending over into England for an Army of thirty thousand  
men, which being brought to the shoare, ready to be shipped: an offer was  
to be proclaimed by his Lievtenant, that giving ten shillings a man, who so-  
ever would, might depart home to his dwelling; whereby was raised so  
much as discharged his expence, and served to see the King of France, un-  
der-hand, for his forbearing ayde to Duke Robert, who seeing himselfe left  
by the French, must needs make his peace as the other would have it.

Now for his affaires at home, the uncertaine warres with Wales and Scot-  
land, gave him more business than honour. Being driven in the one to in-  
counter with mountaines in stead of men, to the great losse and disadvantage  
of his people; and in the other with as many necessities. Wales hee fought

1092.  
Anno  
Reg. 5.

Duke Robert  
commits his  
brother Hen-  
ry to prison.

1093.  
Anno  
Reg. 6.

1048.  
Anno  
Reg. 7.

The King of  
Scots and his  
sonne Edward  
saine, causes  
Queene Mar-  
garet to dye  
with griefe.  
Roger Houeden

1085.  
Anno  
Reg. 7.

to subdne; Scotland so to restrain, as it might not hurt him. For the last, after much broyle, both Kings seeming more willing to have peace than to seeke it, are brought to an enterview: *Malcolin* upon publicke faith, and safe conduct, came to *Glocester*; where, upon the haughtinesse of King *William*, looking to be satisfied in all his demands, and the unyeeldingnesse of King *Malcoline*, standing upon his regality within his owne, though content to bee ordered for the confines, according to the judgement of the primate of both Kingdomes; nothing was effected, but a greater disdain, and rankor of *Malcoline*, seeing himselfe despised, and scarce looked on by the King of *England*. So that upon his returne armed with rage; hee raises an Army, enters *Northumberland*, which foure times before hee had depopulated; and now the fifth, seeking utterly to destroy it, and to have gone farther, was with his eldest sonne *Edward* slaine, rather by fraude than power of *Robert Mowbray* Earle of that Country: The griefe of whose death, gave *Margaret*, that blessed Queene hers. After whom, the State elected *Dafnald*, brother to *Malcolin*, and chased out all the *English*, which attended the Queene, and were harbored, or preferred by *Malcoline*. King *William* to set the line right, and to have a King there which should be beholding to his power, aides *Edgar*, the second sonne to *Malcolin* (who had served him in his wars) to obtaine the Crowne due unto him in right of succession: by whose meanes *Dafnald* was expeld, and the State received *Edgar*, but killed all the ayde hee brought with him out of *England*, and capitulated that he should never entertaine *English* or *Norman* in his service.

This businesse settled; *Wales* struggling for liberty, and revenge, gave new occasion of worke: whither he went in person, with purpose to depopulate the Country: but they retiring into the Mountaines and the Isle of *Anglesey* ayoyded the present fury. But afterward, *Hugh* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and *Hugh* Earle of *Chester*, surprizing the Isle (their chiefeest retreat) committing there barbarous examples of cruelty, by excecations, and miserable dismembing the people; which immanity, was there suddenly avenged on the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, with a double death, first shot into the eye, and then tumbling over boord into the Sea, to the sport and scorne of his enemy the King of *Norway*, who either by chance, or of purpose, comming upon that coast from taking in the *Orcades*, encountred with him and that Force he had at Sea.

These were the remote businesses, when a conspiracie broake out within the body of the Kingdome, complotted by *Robert Mowbray* Earle of *Northumberland*, *William d'On* and many other, which are sayd to have sought the destruction of the King, and the advancement of *Stephen* Earle of *Albemare*, his Aunts sonne, to the Crowne; which gave the King more trouble than danger: For by the speedy and maine prosecution of the businesse (wherein hee used the best strength of *England*) it was soone ended, with the confusion of the undertakers. But it wrought an ill effect in his Nature, by hardening the same to an extreme rigor: for after the feare was past, his wrath, and cruelty were not; but (which is hideous in a Prince) they grew to be numbred amongst incurable diseases.

The Earle was committed to the Castle of *Windsor*, *William d'On*, at a Councill at *Salisbury*, being overcome in Duell (the course of triall) had his eyes put out, and his privy members cut off. *William de Alveric*, his Sewer, a man of goodly personage, and allyed unto him, was condemned to be hanged: though both in his confession to *Osmund* the Bishop there, and to all the people as he passed to his Execution, he left a cleare opinion of his innocency, and the wrong he had by the King.

But

But now; whilst these fractures heere at home, the unrepayrable breaches abroad (were such) as could give the King no longer assurednesse of quiet, than the attempters would: and that all the Christian World was out, eyther at discord amongst themselves, or in faction, by the schisme of the Church: Pope *Urban*, assembling a generall Councell at *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, to compose the affayres of Christendome, exhorted all the Princes thereof to joyne themselves in Action, for the recovery of the Holy Land, out of the hands of Infidels. Which motion, by the zealous negotiation of *Peter* the Hermit of *Amiens*; tooke so generally (meeting with the disposition of an active, and religious world) as turned all that flame, which had else consumed each other at home, upon unknowne Nations that undid them abroad.

Such, and so great grew the heate of this action, made by the perswasion of the Iustice thereof, with the State and glory it would bring on earth, and the assurednesse of Heaven to all the pious undertakers, that none were esteemed to containe any thing of worth, which would stay behind. Each gives hand to other to leade them along, and example addes number. The forwardnesse of so many great Princes, passing away their whole estates, and leaving all what the dearenesse of their Countrey contained, drew to this warre 300000. men; all which, though in Armes, passed from divers Countreys and Ports, with that quietnesse, as they seemed rather Pilgrimes, than Souldiers.

*Peter the Hermit gets 300000. men to recover the Holy Land;*

*Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, Nephew and Heire to the Duke of *Lorraine*, a Generous Prince, bred in the Warres of the Emperour *Henry* the Fourth, was the first that offered up himselfe to this Famous Voyage; and with him his two Brothers, *Eustace* and *Bauduin*; by whose examples were drawne *Hugh* le Grand, Count de *Vermendois*, brother to *Philip* King of *France*; *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, *Robert* le Frison Earle of *Flanders*; *Stephen* Earle of *Blois* and *Charters*; *Aimar* Bishop of *Puy*; *William* Bishop of *Orange*; *Raimond* Earle of *Tholouse*; *Baudouin* Earle of *Hainaut*; *Baudouin* Earle of *Rethel*; and *Garmar* Earle of *Gretz*; *Harpin* Earle of *Bourges*; *Ysoard* Earle of *Die*; *Rambaud* Earle of *Orange*; *Guillaum* Count de *Forrests*; *Stephen* Count d' *Aumaul*; *Hugh* Earle of *S. Pol*; *Rotron* Earle of *Perche*, and others. These were for *France*, *Germany* and the Countries adjoyning. *Italy* had *Bohemond* Duke of *Apulia*; and *England*, *Bauchampe* with others, whose names are lost: *Spaine* onely had none; being afflicted at that time with the *Sarazins*.

Most of all these Princes and great Personages, to furnish themselves for this expedition, sold, or ingaged their possessions. *Godfrey* sold the Dutchy of *Bologne* to *Hubert* Bishop of *Leige*, and *Metz* to the Citizens: Besides, he sold the Castle of *Sarteny*, and *Monsa*, to *Richard* Bishop of *Verdun*; and to the same Bishop, *Baudouin* his brother sold the Earledome of *Verdun*. *Eustace* likewise sold all his livelyhood to the Church: *Herpin* Earle of *Bourges*, his Earledome to *Phillip* King of *France*; and *Robert* morgaged his Dutchy of *Normandy*, the Earledome of *Maine*, and all hee had, to his brother King *William* of *England*. Whereby the Pope not onely weakned the Empire, with whom the Church had (to the great affliction of Christendome) held a long and bloody businesse, about the investitures of Bishops; tooke away and infeeble his partisans, abated, as if by *ostracisme*, the power of any Prince that might oppose him; but also advanced the State Ecclesiasticall, by purchasing these great Temporalities, (more honorable for the sellers than the buyers) unto a greater meanes than ever. For by advising the undertakers, seeing their action was for *CHRIST* and his Church, rather to make over their

1097.  
Anno  
Reg. 10



their estates to the Clergy, of whom they might againe redeeme the same, and be sure to have the fairest dealing, than unto Lay-men; he effected this worke. Whereby the third part of the best Fiefs in *France* came to be possesse by the Clergy; and afterwards upon the same occasion, many things more unto them in *England*, especially when *Richard* the first undertooke the voyage, who passed over divers Mannors to *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham* (and also, for his mony) created him Earle of *Durham*, as appeares in his life.

An Emperour  
of *Germany*,  
two Kings of  
*France* with  
their wives,  
a King of  
*Norway* went  
all thither in  
person.

This humour was kept up, and in motion almost 300. yeares, notwithstanding all the discouragement, by the difficulties passing, the disasters there through the contagion arising from a disagreeing clime; and the multitudes of indigent people, cast oftentimes into miserable wants. It consumed infinite Treasure, and most of the bravest men of all our West world, and especially *France*. For *Germany* and *Italy*, those who were the Popes friends, and would have gone, were stayed at home by dispensation to make good his partie against the Emperour, who notwithstanding still struggled with him, but in the end, by this meanes the Pope prevailed. Yet these were not all the effects this voyage wrought: The Christians who went out to seeke an enemy in *Asia*, brought one thence: to the danger of all Christendome, and the losse of the fairest part thereof. For this long keeping it in a Warre, that had many intermissions with fits of heats and coldnesses (as made by a league, consisting of severall Nations, emulous and unconsentient in their courses) taught such as were of an entire body, their weakenesses, and the way to Conquer them. This was the great effect, this voyage wrought.

And by this meanes King *William* here was now rid of an elder brother, and a Competitor; had the possession of *Normandy* during his reigne and more absoluteness, and irregularity in *England*. Where now, in making up this great summe to pay *Robert*, he used all the extreame meanes could be devised: As he had done in all like businesses before. Whereby he incurred the hatred of his people in generall, and especially of the Clergy, being the first King which shewed his successors an evill precedent of keeping their Livings vacant, and receiving the profits of them himselfe, as he did that of *Canterbury*, foure yeares after the death of *Laufanc*; and had holden it longer, but that being dangerously sicke at *Glocester*, the sixt yeare of his Reigne, his Clergy, in the weakenesse of his body, tooke to worke upon his minde, so as he vowed, upon his recovery to see all vacancies furnished; which hee did, but with so great adoe, as shewed that having escaped the danger hee would willingly have deceived the Saint: And *Anselme*, an *Italian* borne, though bred in *Normandy*, is in the end preferred to that See. But, what both with his owne stiffenesse, and the Kings standing on his regalitie, hee never enjoyed it quietly under him. For betweene them two, began the first contestation about the investitures of Bishops, and other privilegedes of the Church, which gave much to doe, to many of his successors. *Anselme* not yeelding to the Kings will forsooke the Land; whereupon his Bishopricke was re-assumed; and the King held in his hands at one time, besides that of *Canterbury*, the Bishopricks of *Winchester*, *Sarum*, and eleven Abbeyes, whereof he tooke all the profits.

He usually sold all spirituall preferments to those would give most, and tooke fines of Priests for Fornication: he vexed *Robert* Bluet Bishop of *Lincolne* in suite, till he payd him 5000. pound. And now the Clergy, upon this taxe, complayning their wants, were answered, That they had Shrines of gold in their Churches, and for so holy a worke as this warre against infidels, they should not spare them. He also tooke money of Jewes, to cause such of them as were converted

The Kings  
shew of Re-  
ligion.

1099  
Anno  
Reg. 12

converted, to renounce Christianity, as making more benefit by their unbeleeve, than by their conversion. Wherein hee discovered the worst peece of his nature, *Irreligion*.

Besides his great taxations layd on the Layety, hee sets informers upon them, and for small transgressions made great penalties. These were his courses for raising moneyes, wherein he sayled not of fit ministers to execute his Will, among whom was chiefe, *Ranulph Bishop of Durham*, whom he had corrupted with other Bishops, to counterpoise the Clergy, awe the Layety, and countenance his proceedings. All which meanes, he exhausted, eyther in his buildings (which were the new Castle upon *Tine*, the City of *Carleil*, *Westminster-Hall*, and the walles of the Tower of *London*) or else in his prodigall gifts to strangers. Twice hee appeased the King of *France* with mony, and his Profusion was such, as put him evermore into extreame wants.

The antiquity of Informers.

This *Ranulph* gave a thousand pounds for his Bishopricke, and was the Kings Chancellor. Profusion ever in want.

This one Act, shewes both his violence and magnanimity: As he was one day hunting, a Messenger comes in all haste out of *Normandy*, and tells him how the City of *Mans* was surpris'd by *Hely Conte de la Fleische*, who by his wife pretended right thereunto; and was ayded by *Fouques d'Angiers*, the ancient enemy to the Dukes of *Normandy*; and that the Castle which held out valiantly for him, was, without present succour, to be rendred. He sends backe the Messenger instantly, wills him to make all the speede he could, to signifie to his people in the Castle, that he would be there within eight dayes, if Fortune hindred him not. And suddainly he askes of his people about him, which way *Mans* lay, and a *Norman* being by, shewed him: Presently he turnes his Horse towards that Coast, and in great haste rides on: when some advised him to stay for fit provisions, and people for his journey, he sayd; *They who love me, will follow me*. And comming to imbarke at *Dartmouth*, the Mariners told him the weather was rough, and there was no passing without eminent danger; *Tush*, sayd he, *set forward, I never yet heard of King that was drowned*.

By beake of day he arrived at *Harflen*, sends for his Captaines and men of Warre to attend him all at *Mans*, whither he came at the day appointed. *Conte de la Fleische*, having more right than power, after many skirmishes, was taken by a stratagem, and brought prisoner to *Rouan*; where more enraged, than dismayde with his fortune, he let fall these words; That had he not beene taken with a wile, he would have left the King but little Land on that side the Sea; and were he againe at liberty, they should not so easily take him. Which being reported; the King sent for him, *Set him at liberty*, gave him a faire Horse, bade him goe his way, and doe his worst. Which act overcame the Conte more than his taking, and a quiet end was made between them. That he affected things of cost, even in the smallest matters (is shewed) in the report of his finding fault with his servant, which brought him a new payre of hose, whereof he demanding the price, was told how they cost three shillings: wherewith being angry hee asked his servant, if that were a fit price of a payre of hose for a King, and willed him to goe presently and to buy those of a Marke; which being brought him, though they were farre worse, yet he liked them much better in regard they were sayd to have cost more. An example of the Weare of time, the humour of the Prince, and the deceipt of the servant.

The King returns into *England* with great jollity, as ever bringing home better fortune out of *Normandy*, than from any his Northerne expeditions: Feasts his Nobility with all Magnificence, in his new Hall lately finished at West.

Westminster, wherewith he found much fault for being built too little; saying, *It was fitter for a Chamber, than a Hall for a King of England*, and takes a plot for one farre more spacious to be added unto it. And in this gayetie of State which hee had got about all his businesse, betakes him wholly to the pleasure of peace: and being hunting with his brother *Henry* in the New Forrest, *Walter Terell*, a Norman, and his kinsman, shooting at a Deere (whether mistaking his marke, or not, is uncertaine) strake him to the heart. And so fell this fierce King, in the 43. yeare of his age, when hee had reigned nigh 12. yeares. A Prince, who for the first two yeares of his reigne (whilst held in, by the grave Councell of *Laufanc*, and his owne feares) bare himselfe most worthily, and had beene absolute for State; had he not after fought to be absolute in power, which (meeting with an exorbitant will) makes both Prince and People miserable.

*The end of the Life and Reigne of William the second.*

### The Life, and Reigne of Henry the first.

1100.  
*Anno*  
*Reg. 1.*



**H**ENRY the youngest sonne of *William* the first, being at hand, and borne in *England* (which made much for him) was elected and crowned within foure dayes after his Brothers death; it being given out, that *Robert*, who should have succeeded *William*, was chosen King of *Ierusalem*, and not like to give over that Kingdome for this. Wherefore to settle *Henry* in the possession of the Crowne, all expedition possible was used, lest the report of *Roberts* returning from the Holy Warres (being now in *Apulia*, comming home) might be noyed abroad to stagger the State, which seemed generally willing to accept of *Henry*. The first actions of his governement tended all, to baite the people, and sugar their subjection (as his predecessour) upon the like interposition had done, but with more moderation and advisednesse: This being a Prince better rectified in judgement, and of a Nature more alayed, both by his sufferings, having sighed with other men under the hand of oppression, that taught him patience; and also, by having somewhat of the Booke, which got him opinion, and the Title of *Beauclerke*.

First, to fasten the Clergy, He furnishes with fit men, all those Vacancies which his brother had kept empty, recalls *Anselme* home to his Bishopricke of *Canterbury*, and restores them to all whatsoever priviledges had beene infringed by his Predecessour. And for the Layety, He not onely pleased them in their releivements, but in their passion, by punishing the chiefe Ministers of their exactions, which evermore eases the spleene of the people, glad to discharge their Princes of the evils done them (knowing how they cannot worke without hands) and lay them on their Officers, who have the active power, where themselves have but the passive onely, and commonly turne as they are mooved.

*Ralph* Bishop of *Durham*, chiefe Counsellor to the late King, a man risen by subtlety of his tongue (from infamous condition, to the highest employments) was committed to a straight and loathsome prison, being famed to have put his maister into all these courses of exaction and irregularities, and remaines amongst the examples of perpetuall ignominy. All dissolute persons are expelled the Court: the people eased of their impositions, and restored to their lights in the night, which after the *Coverfew* Bell were forbidden them upon great penalty, since the beginning of *William* the first. Many other good orders for the government of the Kingdome are ordayned, and besides

The ministers  
of exactions  
punished.

*Ralph* Bishop  
of *Durham*  
committed to  
prison.  
Dissolute per-  
sons expelled  
the Court.



besides to make him the more popular and beloved; hee matches in the Royall blood of England, taking to wife *Maud*, daughter of *Margueret*, late Queene of Scots, and Neece to *Edward Atheling*, descended from *Edmond Ironside*. A Lady that brought with her the inheritance of goodnesse she had from a blessed mother, and with much adoe was won from her Cloyster, and her vow to God, to descend to the world, and be a wife to a King.

Thus stood he entrenched in the State of England, when his brother *Robert*, returning from the Holy Warres, and received with great applause into his Dutchy of *Normandy*, shooke the ground of all this businesse; the first yeare threatening, the second, arriving with a strong Army at *Portsmouth*, to recover the Crowne, appertaining to him by the course of succession, having a mighty party in England of the *Norman Nobility*; who eyther mooved with Conscience of their discontent (a sicknesse rising of selfe opinion, and over expectation) made any light occasion the motive of revolt. The Armies on both sides meete, and are ready to encounter, when, for avoyding Christian blood, a treaty of peace was mooved, and in the end concluded with these Articles: 1. That seeing Henry was borne since his father was King of England, which made him the eldest sonne of a King, though the last of a Duke, and now invested in the Crowne by the act of the Kingdome, he should enjoy the same during his life, paying to Robert three thousand markes per annum. 2. And Robert *swearing* to succeed him. 3. That all, who had taken part with Robert should have their pardons, and receive no delinquent.

This businesse thus fairely passed over, Robert of a Generous and Free Nature staves and Feasts with his brother here in England, from the beginning of August till Michaelmas; and then returnes into *Normandy*. When *Henry*, ridde of this feare, takes to a higher straine of Regality, and now stands upon his Prerogative, for the investitures of Bishops, and collation of other Ecclesiasticall estates, within his Kingdome, oppugned by *Anselme*, who refused to consecrate such as he preferred, alledging it to be a violation of the sacred Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, lately decreed concerning this businesse: in so much as the King dispatches an Ambassage to Pope *Paschal*, with declaration of the right he had to such investitures, from his Predecessours the Kings of England, who evermore conferred the same without interruption, till now of late.

*Anselme* followes after these Ambassadours, goe likewise to Rome, to make good the opposition. The King banishes him the Kingdome, and takes into his hands his Bishopricke. The Pope stands stify to the power assumed by the Church, but in the end, seeing the King fast strong, and lay too farre off out of his way to bee constraigned (and having much to doe at that time with the Emperour and other Princes, about the same businesse) takes the way of perswasion to draw him to his will, solliciting him with kind letters, full of protestations, to further any designes of his that might concerne his State if he would desist from this proceeding.

The King prest with some other occasions, that held him in, and having purposes of that Nature, as by forbearance of the Church, might bee the better effected; consents to satisfie the Popes will; and becomes an example to other Princes, of yeelding in this case. *Anselme* is recalled; after a yeares banishment, and the Ambassadours returne with large remunerations.

Whilest these things were managing at Rome, there burst out here a flame,

Robert Duke of Normandy returnes from the Holy Warre.

1101.

Anno Reg. 8.

The agreement between Henry and his brother.

1102.

Anno Reg. 3.

Henry claims the investitures of Bishops.

Anselme oppugnes the Kings prerogative. The King sends to the Pope.

1103.

Anno Reg. 4.

Anselme followes.

The King and Anselme accorded.

The Earle of  
Shrewsburies  
combination

1104.  
Anno  
Reg. 5.

which consumed the parties that raised it, & brought the King more easily to his ends, than otherwise he ever could have expected. *Robert de Belcme*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*, son to *Roger de Montgomery* (a very fierce youth) presuming of his great estate, and his Friends, fortifies his Castles of *Shrewsbury*, *Bridgenorsh*, *Tickhill* and *Arundell*; with some other peeces in *Wales* belonging to him; and combines with the Welch, to oppose against the present State (out of a desire to set all in combustion, for his owne ends, that were altogether uncertaine:) which put the King to much travell and charge; but within thirty dayes, by employing great forces, and terrors mixt with promises, he scattered his complices, and tooke all his Castles; except that of *Arundell*, which rendered upon condition, that the Maister might be permitted to retire safe into *Normandy*; which the King easily granted, seeing now hee was but the body of a filly naked Creature, that had lost both Feathers and Wings. And it made well for the King, his going thither. For, from the losing of his owne estate in *England*, and thereby advancing the Kings revenues, hee goes to lose *Normandy* also, and brings it to this Crowne. For, as soone as hee camethither, hee fastens amity with one of like condition and Fortunes as himselfe (an exiled man,) whose insolency had likewise stript him out of all his estate in *England*, and much wasted that in *Normandy*, which was *William* Earle of *Mortaigne*, sonne to *Robert*, halfe brother to King *William* the first. Who being also Earle of *Cornewall*, made sure likewise, to have that of *Kent*: which his Vnkle *Odon* lately held: but being denied it, and also evicted by Law, of certaine other parcels of Land, which he claimed, retires with great indignation into *Normandy*, where not onely he assaults the Kings Castles, but also usurpes upon the State of *Richard*, the young Earle of *Chester*, then the Kings Ward. These two Earles combine themselves, and with their Adherents committed many out-ragious actions, to the great spoyle and displeasure of the Countrey, whereof, though they complayned to Duke *Robert*, they found little remedy. For, hee being now growne poore by his out-lavishing humour, began it seemes, to be little respected: or else false from action, and those greatnesse his expectation had shewed him, was (as commonly great mindes dasht with ill Fortunes are) false likewise in spirit, and given over to his ease. Whereupon the people of *Normandy* make their exclamations to the King of *England*, who sends for his brother *Robert*, Reprehends him for the sufferance of these disorders; advises him to act the part of a Prince, and not a Monke: and in conclusion, whether by detention of his Pension, or drawing him, being of a facile Nature, to some act of releasing it: sends him home so much discontented, as hee joynes with these mutinous Earles, and by their instigation, was set into that flame, as he raysed all his utmost forces to be revenged on his brother.

1105.  
Anno  
Reg. 6.

The King, touched in Conscience with the foulness of a fraternal Warre (which the world would take, hee being the mightier, to proceede out of his designs) stood doubtfull what to doe, when Pope *Pascal*, by his Letters written with that eloquence (saith *Malmesbury*) wherein he was very quicke, perswaded him, That heerein hee should not make a civill Warre, but doe a Noble and memorable benefit unto his Countrey: Whereby (payd for remitting the Investitures) he held himselfe countenanced in this businesse; whereon, now he fers with more alacrity and resolution. And after many difficulties, and losse of divers

divers worthy men, in a mighty battaile, neere the Castle of *Tenebbray*, his enemies with much adoe were all defeated. Whereby *England* won *Normandy*, and on the same day, by Computation (wherein forty yeares before) *Normandy* overcame *England*, such are the turnings in the affaires of men.

And here *Robert*, who stood in a faire possibility of two Crownes, came to be deprived of his Dutchy and all he had, brought prisoner into *England*, and committed to the Castle of *Cardiffe*. Where, to adde to his misery, he had the misfortune of a long life (surviving after he lost himselfe 26. yeares) whereof the most part he saw not, having his eyes put out; whereby he was onely left to his thoughts; a punishment barbarously inflicted on him, for attempting an escape.

He was a Prince that gave out to the world, very few notes of his ill, but many of his Noblenesse and valour, especially in his great voyage, wherein he had the second command, and was in election to have bene the first preferred to the Crowne of *Ierusalem*, and missed it hardly. Onely the disobedience in his youth shewed to his Father (which yet might proceede from a rough hand borne over him, and the animation of others, rather than his owne Nature) sets a staine upon him: and then, his profusion (which some would have liberality) shewed his impotency, and put him into those courses that overthrew him. All the Revenues of his Dutchy, which should serve for his maintenance, hee sold or engaged, and was upon passing the City of *Norm* unto the Cittizens, which made him held unfit for the government, and gave occasion to his Brother to quarrell with him.

And thus came *Henry* freed from this feare, an absolute Duke of *Normandy*: had many yeares of quiet, gathered great Treasure, and entertained good intelligence with the Neighbour Princes. *Scotland* by his March, and doing their Princes good, he held from doing him hurt: clearing them from usurpations. *Wales*, though under his Title, yet not subjection, gave him some exercise of action; Which he ordered with great wisdom. First he planted within the body of that Country, a Colony of Flemings, who at that time much pestred this Kingdome: being admitted here in the reigne of King *William* the first, marrying their Countie-woman, and using their helpe in the action of *England*; where they daily increased, in such sort, as gave great displeasure to the people. By this meanes, both that grievance was eased, and the use of them made profitable to the State: for being so great a number, and a strong people, they made roome for themselves, and held it in that sort, as they kept the *Welch*, all about them, in very good awe. Besides, the King tooke for hostages the chiefe menssons of the Country, and hereby quieted it. For *France* he stood secure, so long as *Philip* the first lived: who, wholly given over to his ease and luxury, was not for other attempts, out of that course: but his son he was to looke unto, whensoever hee came to that Crowne.

With the Earle of *Flanders* he had some debate, but it was onely in words, and upon this occasion. King *William* the first, in retribution of the good his father in law, *Baldouin* the first had done, by ayding him in the action of *England*, gave him yearly three hundred markes, and likewise continued it to his sonne after him. Now, *Robert* Earle of *Flanders*, of a collaterall line, returning empty from the Holy Warres, and finding this summe paid out of *England* to his Predecessors, demaunds the same of King *Henry*, as his due; who not easie to part with money, sends him word; That it was not the

England wins  
Normandy.

Robert Duke  
of Normandy  
is imprisoned  
by King Hen.

1106.

Anno

Reg. 7.

King Henry  
Duke of Nor-  
mandy.

1107.

Anno

Reg. 8.



King Henry  
quarrels with  
the king of  
France.

1108.

Anno  
Reg. 6.

The Popes  
Oath to the  
Emperour.

The Emperor  
Hen. 5. marries  
Maude.

History of  
France.

custome of the Kings of *England* to pay tribute: If they gave pensions, they were temporary, and according to desert. Which answered so much displeased the Earle, that though himselfe lived not to shew his hatred, yet his Son did, and ayded afterward *William*, the sonne of *Robert Curteis*, in his attempts, for recovery of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, against King *Henry*.

Thus stood this King in the first part of his reigne: in the other, he had more to doe abroad than at home, where he had by his excellent wisdom so settled the government, as it held a steady course without interruption, all his time. But now *Lewis le Grose*, succeeding his father *Phillip* the first, gave him warning to looke to his State of *Normandy*: and for that he would not attend a quarrell, he makes, taking occasion about the City of *Gisors*, situate on the River *Epre*, in the confines of *Normandy*, whilst *Louys* was troubled with a stubborne Nobility, presuming upon their Franchises, within their owne Signiories; whereof there were many, at that time about *Paris*, as the Contes of *Crecy*, *Pissaux*, *Dammartins*, *Champaigne* and others, who by example, and emulation, would be absolute Lords, without awe of a Maister, putting themselves under the protection of *Henry*; who being neere to assist them, fostred those humors, which in sicke bodies most shew themselves. But after *Louys*, by yeares gathering strength, dissolved that compact, and made his meanes the more, by their confiscations.

Now to entertaine these two great Princes in work, the quarrell betweene the Pope and the Emperour, ministred fresh occasion. The Emperour *Henry* the first, having (by the Popes instigation) banded against his Father, *Henry* the fourth who associated him in the Empire, and held him prisoner in that distresse, as hee dyed; toucht afterwards with remorse of this act, and reproach of the State, for abandoning the rights of the Empire, leavies sixty thousand foote, and thirty thousand horse, for *Italy*; constraines the Pope and his Colledge to acknowledge the right of the Empire in that forme as *Leo* the fourth had done to *Otho* the second, and before that, *Adrian* to *Charlemaigne*, according to the Decree of the Councell of *Rome*; and made him take his Oathe of fidelity betweene his hands, as to the true and lawfull Emperour. The Pope, so soone as *Henry* was departed home, assembles a Councell, nullifies this acknowledgement, as done by force, and shortly after deceased. The Emperour, to make himselfe the stronger against his successors, enters into alliance with the King of *England*, takes to wife his daughter *Maude*, being but 5. yeares of age: after this, *Calixt* son of the Cont de *Burgoyne* comming to be Pope, and being French (unto their great applause) assembles a Councell at *Reimes*; where, by Ecclesiasticall sentence, *Henry* the first is declared enemy of the Church, and degraded of his Emperiall Dignity. The King of *England*, seeing this Councell was held in *France*, and composed chiefly of the *Gallicane* Church, desirous to over-maister *Louys*, incenses his sonne in law the Emperour (stung with this disgrace) to set upon him (as the Popes chiefe pillar) on one side, and he would assaile him on the other. The Emperor easily wrought to such a businesse, prepares all his best forces: the King of *England* doth the like. The King of *France* seeing this storme comming so impetuously upon him, wrought so with the Princes of *Germany*, as they, weighing the future mischief of a Warre undertaken in a heere, with the importance of a kinde Neighbour-hood, advise the Emperour not to enter there into, till hee had signified to the King of *France*, the causes of his discontent. Whereupon an Embassage is dispatched: The King of *France* answeres, That he grieved much to see the two greatest Pillars of the Church, thus shaken with these dissensions, whereby might be feared, the whole  
fr ame

frame would be ruined: that he was a friend to them both, and would gladly be an inter-dealer for concord, rather than to carry wood to a fire too fierce already, which he desired to extinguish, for the good and quiet of Christendome. This Embassage wrought so, as it dis-armed the Emperour, glad to have *Louys* a mediator of the accord betweene the Pope and him: to the great displeasure of the King of England, who expected greater matters to have risen by this businessse. The accord is concluded at *Wormes*, to the Popes advantage, to whom th' Emperour yeelds up the right of investitures of Bishops and other Benefices. But this was onely to appease, not cure the malady.

The King of England disappointed thus of the Emperours assistance, proceeds notwithstanding in his intentions against *Louys*. And seeing he fayled of outward Forces, he sets up a party in his Kingdome, to confront him: ayding *Theobald Conte de Champagne*, with so great power, as he stood to doe him much displeasure: besides, he obtained a strong side in that kingdome, by his alliances: for *Stephen Earle of Bloys*, had married his sister *Adela*, to whom this *Theobald* was brother, and had won *Foulke*, Earle of *Anjou* (an important neighbour, and even an enemy to *Normandy*) to be his, by matching his sonne *William* to his daughter.

*Louys* on the other side, sayles not to practise all meanes to under-work *Henries* estate in *Normandy*, and combines with *William Earle of Flanders*, for the restoring of *William*, the sonne of *Robert Curtoys*, to whom the same appertained by right of inheritance; and had the sayre shew of his actions, by taking hold on the side of Justice.

Great and many were the conflicts of these two Princes, with the expence of much blood and charge. But in the end, being both tyred, a peace was concluded, by the mediation of the Earle of *Anjou*. And *William* sonne to King *Henry*, did homage to *Louys* for the Duchy of *Normandy*; And *William* the son of *Robert Curtoys* is left to himselfe, and desists from his claime.

Vpon the faire cloze of all these troubles, there followed presently an accident, which seasoned it with the sowrenesse of griefe, as over-earne all the joy of the successe. *William* the young Prince, the onely hope of all the *Norman* race, at seventene yeares of age, returning into *England*, in a ship by himselfe, accompanied with *Richard* his base brother, *Mary Countesse of Perch*, their sister, *Richard Earle of Chester*, with his wife, the Kings Neece, and many other personages of honour, and their attendants, to the number of 140. besides 50. Mariners, setting out from *Barbsteet*, were all cast away at Sea, onely a Butcher escaped. The Prince had recovered a Cock-boat, and in possibility to have bin saved; had not the compass of his sisters cries drawne him backe to the sinking ship to take her in, and perish with his Company.

Which sudden clap of Gods judgement, coming in a calme of glory, when all these bustlings setmed past over, might make a conscience shrink with terror, to see suppression and supplantation repayed with the extinction of that, for which so much had beene wrought, and the line Masculine of *Normandy* expired in the third inheritor (as it to begin the same layd on all the future successe hitherto; wherein the third *Henry* is a right despoile, seldom or never enjoyed the Crowne of *England*, but that either by usurpation or extinction of the male blood, it received an alteration; which may teach Princes to observe the wayes of Righteousnesse, and let men alone with their rights, and God with his providence.

After this heavy disaster, the King is sayd never to have bin seene to laugh, though within 5. moneths after, in hope to restore his issue, he married *Adela*, a beautifull young Lady, daughter to the Duke of *Lorraine*, of the house of

The King of France accords the Pope and Emperour.

King Henry aydes Conte Theobald against the King of France.

The King of France combines with the Earle of Flanders against King Henry.

1116.

Anno Reg. 17

Queene Maud had wrote see this disaster.

nothing till the year 1117

the year 1117

the year 1117

Robert de Mel-  
lent's conspi-  
racie.

1123.  
Anno  
Reg. 25

And the  
Empresse  
married to  
Geffrey  
Plantagenet.

1126.  
Anno  
Reg. 27

1133.  
Anno  
Reg. 34

His govern-  
ment in peace.

The first use  
of Progresse.

The begin-  
ning of Par-  
liaments.

*Lorraine*, but never had child by her, nor long rest from his troubles abroad. For this rent at home, crackt all the chayne of his courses in *France*. Nor-*mandy* it selfe became wavering, and many adhered to *William* the Nephew: his great confederates are most regayned to the King of *France*: *Foulke* Earle of *Anion* quarrels for his daughters Dowry: *Robert de Melkent* his chiefe Friend and Councillor, a man of great employment, fell from him, conspired with *Hugh* Earle of *Monfort*, and wrought him great trouble.

But such was his diligence and working spirit, that hee soone made whole all those ruptures againe. The two Earles himselfe surprizes; and *Anion*, death: which being so important a neighbour, as we may see, by matching a Prince of *England* there, the King fastens upon it with another alliance, and descends to marry his daughter (and now onely child, which had beene wife to an Emperour, and desired by the Princes of *Lombardy* and *Lorraine*) to the now Earle *Geffrey Plantagenet*, the sonne of *Foulke*.

The King of *France* to Fortifie his opposition, entertaines *William* the Nephew, where now all the danger lay; and aydes him in person, with great power to obtaine the Earledome of *Flanders*, whereunto he had a faire Title, by the defaillance of issue in the late Earle *Baldouin*, slaine in a battell in *France* against King *Henry*. But *William* as if heire also of his fathers fortunes, admitted to the Earledome, miscarried in the rule, was deprived, and slaine in bartaile; and in him all of *Robert Curoys* perished.

And now the whole care of King *Henry*, was the settling of the succession upon *Maude* (of whom he lived to see two sonnes borne) for which he convokes a Parliament in *England*, wherein an Oath is ministred to the Lords of this Land, to be true to her and her heires, and acknowledge them as the right inheritors of the Crowne. This Oath was first taken by *David*, King of *Scots*, Vnckle to *Maude*, and by *Stephen*, Earle of *Ballogue* and *Mortaine*, Nephew to the King, on whom he had bestowed great possessions in *England*, and advanced his brother to the Bishopricke of *Winchester*. And to make all more fast, this Oath was afterward ministred againe at *Northampton* in another Parliament.

So that now all seemes safe and quiet, but his owne sleepes, which are sayd to have beene very tumultuous, and full of affrightments, wherein he would often rise, take his sword, and be in act, as if he defended himselfe against assaults of his person; which shewed, all was not well within.

His government in peace, was such as rankes him in the list amongst our Kings of the fairest make: holding the Kingdome so well ordered as during all his reigne, which was long, he had ever the least to doe at home. At the first, the competition with his brother, after, the care to establish his succession, held him in, to observe all the best courses, that might make for the good and quiet of the State; having a speciall regard to the due administration of Justice, that no corruption or oppression might disease his people; whereby things were carried with an evenesse, betweene the Great men, and the Commons, as gave all satisfaction. He made divers Progresses, into remote parts of the Land, to see how the State was ordered. And for that purpose, whensoever he was in *England*, he kept no certaine residence, but solemnized the great Festivals in severall, and farre distant places of the Kingdome, that all might partake of him.

And for that he would not wrest any thing by an Imperiall power from the Kingdome (which might breed ulcers of dangerous nature) he tooke a course to obtaine their free consents to serve his occasions, in their generall assemblies of the three Estates of the Land, which he first convoked at *Salisbury*,

Anno



*Anno Reg. 15.* and which had from his time the name of Parliament, according to the manner of *Normandy*, and other States, where Princes keepe within their circles to the good of their people, their owne glory, and security of their posterity.

He was a Prince that lived formally himselfe, and repressed those excesses in his subjects which those times entertained, as the wearing of long haire, which though it were a gayetrie of no charge (like those sumptuous braveries, that waste Kingdomes in peace) yet for the undecencie thereof, he reformed it, and all other dissolutenesse. His great businesses, and his wants taught him frugality, and warinesse of expence; and his warres being seldom invasive, and so not getting, put him often to use hard courses for his suppliments of treasure. Towards the marriage of his daughter with the Emperour, and the charge of his warre, he obtained (as it might seeme at his first Parliament at *Salisbury*) *Anno Reg. 15.* three shillings upon every hide-land, but he had no more in all his reigne, except one supply for his warres afterward in *France*. He kept Bishopricks and Abbeyes voyde in his hands; as that of *Canterbury*, five yeares together. By an Act of Parliament at *London*, *Anno Reg. 30.* he had permission to punish Marriage, and incontinency of Priests, whom (for fines notwithstanding) he suffered to enjoy their wives: but heereby he displeased the Clergy, and disappointed that reformation.

He assembles the first Parliament after the Conquest.

His reformation.

His means to raise monies.

*Tilburyensis de Seacroto.*

Punishments which were Mutilation of member, he made pecuniary. And by reason of his often and long being in *Normandie*, those provisions for his house, which were used to be paid in kinde, were rated at certaine prizes and received in money, by the consent of the State, and to the great content of the subject; who by reason that many dwelling farre off throughout all Shires of *England*, were much molested with satisfying the same otherwise. He resumed the liberties of hunting in his Forrests, which tooke up much faire ground of the Kingdome; and besides renewing for penalties, made an Edict, That if any man in his owne private woods, killed the Kings Deere, he should forfeit his woods to the King. But he permitted them inclosures for Parkes, which under him seemes to have had their Originall, by the example of that of his at *Woodstocke*, the multitude whereof grew to be afterwards a disease in the Kingdome.

His expences.

His Counsellours.

The magnificent buildings of Roger Bishop of Sarum.

The magnificent buildings of Roger Bishop of Sarum.

His expences were chiefly in his Warres, and his many and great Fortifications in *Normandy*. His buildings were the Abbey of *Reading*, the Mannor of *Woodstocke*, and the great inclosure of that Parke, with a stone wall seven miles about.

The most eminent men of his Councell were, Roger Bishop of *Sarum*, and the Earle of *Mellent*, both men of great experience in the affayres of the World: Roger was ever as Vice Roy, had the whole management of the Kingdome in his absence, which was sometimes three and foure yeares together. He had managed the Kings money and other affayres of his house, when hee was a poore Prince, and a private man; whereby he gayned an especiall trust with him ever after, and discharged his part with great policy and understanding; had the title of *Justiciarius Domini Regis*. Of whose magnificence and spacious mind, we have more memorials left in notes of stone, than of any one Man, Prince, or other in this Kingdome. The ruines yet remaining of his stately structures, especially that of the *Devises* in *Wiltshire*, shewes us the carkasse of a most Roman-like Fabrick. Besides, he built the Castles of *Mansbury* and *Shirburne*, two strong and sumptuous peeces; new walled and repayed the Castle of *Salisbury*, and all these he lived to see rent from him, and sealed into the next Kings hands, as being things done out of his

his

his part, and lye now deformed heapes of rubble. Besides, he walled old *Salisbury*, and repayred the Church there.

Robert Melent  
an especiall  
Counsellor to  
Hen. 1.

Robert Earle of Melent, was son of Roger Beaumont; who of all the great men which followed William the first in his civill Wars of *Normandy*, refused to attend him in his expedition for *England*, though with large promises invited thereunto, saying, *The inheritance left him by his predecessors, was sufficient to maintaine his estate at home; and he desired not to thrust himselfe into other mens possessions abroad.* But his sonne Robert was of another minde, and had a mighty estate both in *England* and *Normandy*. Was a man of great direction in Counsell, and ever used in all the weighty affayres of the State. His frugality both in apparrell and dyet, was of such example, being a man of eminent note, as did much good to the Kingdome in those dayes. But in the end he fell into disgrace, (the fate of Court, and eminency) opposed against the King, and dyed bereft of his estate.

The example  
of frugality in  
great men  
doth much  
good in a  
Kingdome.

Besides these, this King was served with a potent and martiall Nobility, whom his spirit led to affect those great designs of his in *France*, for the preservation of his State in *Normandy*. Whither in the 32. yeare of his reigne, he makes his last voyage to dye there, and in his passage thither, happened an exceeding great Eclipse of the Sun, which was taken to fore-signifie his death; for that it followed shortly after, in the thirty five yeare of his reigne.

King Henries  
death.

His personage

He was of a gracefull personage, quicke-eyed, browne hayre (a different complexion from his brothers) and of a close compacted temperament, wherein dwelt a minde of a more solide constitution, with better ordered affections. He had, in his youth, some taste of learning; but onely, as if to set his stomacke, not to over-charge it therewith. But this put many of his subjects into the fashion of the booke, and divers learned men flourished in his time.

His issue.

He had by Maude his wife the daughter of *Malcoline* the third, King of *Scotland*, none other children but Maude and William, of whom any certaine mention is made: but he is sayd to have had of children illegitimate seven sonnes, and as many daughters, which shewes us his incontinency: two of which sonnes of most especiall note, Robert and Raynold were Earles, the one of *Gloucester* (a great Champion and defender of his sister Maude the Emperesse) the other Earle of *Cornwall*, and Baron of *Castle-combe*. His daughters were all married to Princes and Noble men of *England* and *France*, from whom descended many worthy Families, as divers Writers report.

The end of the Life, and Reigne of Henry the first.

### The Life, and Reigne, of King Stephen.

1135.  
Anno  
Reg. 1.



HE Line Masculine of the *Norman* extinct, and onely a daughter left, (& she married to a French man) Stephen Earle of *Bologna* and *Meurigne* sonne of Stephen Earle of *Blais*, and of Adela daughter to William the first, was (notwithstanding the former oath taken for Maude) elected by the State and invested in the Crowne of *England*, within thirty dayes after the death of Henry. Upon what reasons of Counsell, we must gather out of the circumstances of the courses held in that time.

Reasons why  
Maude was  
not crowned.

Some imagine, The States refused Maude, for not being then the custome of a Kingdome Christian (whose Kings are anointed) to admit women to inherit the Crowne: and therefore they might pretend to be freed from their oath,

as being unlawfull. But Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, one of the principall men then in Counsell, yeelded another reason for the discharge of this oath, which was, *That seeing the late King had married his daughter out of the Realme, without the consent thereof, they might lawfully refuse her.* And so was Stephen, having no title at all, but as one of the blood, by meere election, advanced to the Crowne. For if he could claime any right in the Succession, as being the sonne of *Adela*, then must *Theobald*, Earle of Blois, his elder brother, have beene preferred before him; and *Henry Fitz Empresse* (if they refused the Mother) was nearer in blood to the right Stem, than either. But they had other reasons that ruled that time. Stephen was a man, and of great possessions, both in England and France, had one brother Earle of Blois, a Prince of great estate; another, Bishop of Winchester (the Popes Legat in England, of power eminent) was popular for his affabilitie, goodly personage, and activity: and therefore acceptable to the Nobility, who, at that time, were altogether guided by the Clergy; and they (by the working of the Bishop of Winchester, induced to make choyce of him) having an opinion, that by preferring one, whose Title was least, would make his obligation the more to them; and so, they might stand better (secured of their liberties) than under such a one, as might presume of an hereditary succession. And to be the more sure thereof, before his admittance to the Crowne he takes a private oath before the Bishop of Canterbury, to confirme the ancient liberties of the Church; and had his brother to undertake, betwixt God and him, for the performance thereof.

Reasons why Stephen Earle of Bullogne was crowned King.

But being now in the possession of the Kingdome, and all the Treasure his Vnckle had in many yeares gathered, which amounted to one hundred thousand pounds of exquisite silver, besides Plate, and Jewels, of inestimable value. After the Funeralls performed at Reading, he assembles a Parliament at Oxford, wherein, He restored to the Clergy, all their former liberties, and freed the Laitie from their tributes, exactions, or whatsoever grievances oppressed them, confirming the same by his Charter, which saythfully to observe, he took a publique oath before all the assembly: Where likewise the Bishops swore fealty unto him, but with this condition; *so long as he observed the Tenour of this Charter.*

King Stephen possides the Treasure of Henry, I. His first Parliament at Oxford.

And now as one that was to make good the hold that he had gotten, with power, & his sword, prepares for all assaults, which he was sure to have come upon him. And first grants licence, to all that would, to build Castles upon their owne Lands, thereby to Fortifie the Realme, and breake the force of any over-running invasion, that should master the field: Which in settled times might be of good effect, but in a season of distraction and part-taking, very dangerous. And being to subsist by Friends, he makes all he could: Creates new Lords, gives to many great Possessions, and having a full purse spares for no cost to buy love and fidelitie: A purchase very uncertaine when there may be other conveyances made of more strength to carry it.

Two wayes he was to looke for blowes: From Scotland on one side, and France on the other: Scotland wanted no instigations: David their King mooved both by Nature and his oath to his Neece, turnes head upon him: Stephen was presently there, with the shew of a strong Armie, and appealed him with the restitution of Cumberland, and his sonne Henry Prince of Scotland, with the Earledome of Huntingdon: which with that of Northumberland (as Scottish Writers say) was to descend unto him by the right of his Mother Maude, who was daughter to *Walshe* Earle of Huntingdon, and of *Radith*, Neece to William the first, by whose gift he had that Earledome, and



and was the sonne of Syward Earle of Northumberland: And for this the Prince of Scotland, tooke his Oath of fealty to King Stephen which the father refused to doe, as having first sworne to Maude the Emperesse. Though otherwise he might be indifferent, in respect that Stephen had married likewise his Neece, which was Maude daughter to the Earle of Hologne, and of Mary sister to this King David, who by this meane was Vnckle both to Maude the Queene, and Maude the Emperesse.

The King, returning from this Voyage, found some defection of his Nobilitie, which presently put him into another action, that entertained him sometimes: After which, he falls dangerously sicke, in so much as he was noysed to be dead, by which sicknesse, he lost more than his Health: For his Friends, put in danger thereby, cast to seeke another party to beare them up: it wakened Aniou, and sets him onto surprize certaine peeces in Normandy, to prepare for the recoverie of his Wives right, and made all this Kingdome waver. Thus was his first yeare spent, which shewed how the rest of eighteene would prove, wherein we are to have no other representations, But of revolts, besieging of Castles, surprizings, recoverings, losings againe, with great spoiles, and destruction; in brieft, a most miserable face of a distracted State, that can yeeld no other notes of instruction, but such as are generall in all times of like disposition; and therefore herein we may the better forbear the rehearsal of many particulars, being all under one head of action, and like Nature.

The King, having recovered, would make the world know he was alive, and presently passes with Forces into Normandy, overcame the Earle of Aniou in battaile: after makes peace with him, and upon renouncing of the claime of Maude, covenants to give him 5000. markes per annum: he entertaines amity with King Louys the seventh, and causes his sonne Eustace to doe him homage for the Dutchy of Normandy, wherein he was invested: besides, to content his elder brother Theobald, Earle of Blois, he gives him a pension of 2000. markes, and so returns againe into England, to a Warre against Scotland, which, in the meane time, made incursions on this Kingdome; where whilst he was held busie in worke, Robert Earle of Gloucester, base sonne to Henry the first, a man of high spirit, great direction, and indefatigable industry (an especiall actor that performed the greatest part in these times, for his sister Maude) had surprized the Castle of Bristow, and procured Confederates to make good other peeces abroad in divers parts: as William Talbot the Castle of Hereford; Paynel the Castle of Ludlow: Lovell that of Cary; Moone the Castle of Dunstow: Robert de Nichol that of Warham, Eustace Fitz Iohn that of Walton, and William Fitz Allan the Castle of Shrewsbury.

Stephen leaves the prosecution of the Scottissh Wats to Thrustan Archbishop of Yorke, whom he made his Lieutenant, and furnished with many Valiant Leaders, as Walter Earle of Albemary, William Peverell of Nottingham; Walter and Gilbert Lacies: Himselfe bravely attended, bends all his power to repress the Conspirators, which he did in one expedition; recovers all the Castles (by reason of their distance, not able to succour one another) and drave the Earle of Gloucester home to his sister into Aniou.

No lesse successes had his forces in the North, against the Scots, whom in a great battaile they discomfited and put to flight: Which great Fortunes meeting together in one yeare, brought forth occasion of bad, in that following: for now presuming more of himselfe, he fell upon those rockes that rent all his greatnesse. He calls a Councell at Oxford, where occasion was given to put him out with the Clergie, that had onely set him into the State.

The

1137.  
Anno  
Reg. 2.

Robert Earle  
of Gloucester  
the naturall  
sonne to Hen-  
ry the first.

King Stephen  
represses the  
Conspirators.

He defeated  
the Scots.

The Bishops upon the permission of building Castles, so out-went the Lords in Magnificence, strength, and number of their erections, and especially the Bishop of *Salisbury*, that their greatnesse was much maligned by them, putting the King in head, that all these great Castles, especially of *Salisbury*, the *Vies*, *Shyrburne*, *Malsbury*, and *Newarke*, were onely to entertaine the party of *Maude*: whereupon the King, whose feares were apt to take fire, sends for the Bishop of *Salisbury* (most suspected) to *Oxford*. The Bishop, as if fore-seeing the mischief comming to him, would gladly have put off his journey, and excused it by the debility of his age, but it would not serve his turne: thither he comes, where his servants, about the taking up of Lodgings, quarrell with the servants of the Earle of *Brittaine*, and from words fall to blowes, so that in the bickering, one of them was slaine, and the Nephew of the Earle dangerously Wounded. Whereupon the King sends for the Bishop, to satisfie his Court, for the breach of peace made by his servants: The satisfaction required, was the yeelding up of his keyes of his Castles, as pledges of his fealty; but that being stood upon, the Bishop with his Nephew, *Alexander* Bishop of *Lincolne*, were restrayed of their liberty, and shortly after sent as prisoners to the Castle of the *Devises*, whither (the Bishop of *Eley*, another of his Nephewes) had retired himselfe before. The King seizes into his hands his Castles of *Salisbury*, *Shyrburne*, *Malsbury*, and after three dayes assault, the *Devises* was likewise rendred; besides, he tooke all his Treasure, which amounted to fortie thousand markes.

This action being of an extraordinary strayne, gave much occasion of rumour; some sayd: *The King had done well in seizing upon these Castles; it being unfit, and against the Canons of the Church, that they who were men of Religion and peace should raise Fortresses for Warre, and in that sort as might be prejudiciall to the King.* Against this was the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Popes Legat, taking rather the part of his function, than that of a brother: saying: *That if the Bishops had transgressed, it was not the King but the Canons, that must judge it: that they ought not to be deprived of their possessions, without a publique Ecclesiasticall Councell; that the King had not done it, out of the zeale of Justice, but for his owne benefit, taking away that which had bene built upon the Lands, and by the charge of the Church, to put it into the hands of Lay-men, little affected to Religion.* And therefore to the end, the power of the Canons might be examined, he appoints a Councell to be called at *Winchester*, whither the King is summoned: And thither repaire most of all the Bishops of the Kingdome, where first is read the Commission of the Legatine power, granted by Pope *Innocent* to the Bishop of *Winchester*, who there openly urged the indignity offered to the Church, by the imprisoning of these Bishops: *An act most baynous and shamefull for the King, that in the peace of his Court, through the instigation of evill ministers, would thus lay hands upon such men, spoyle them of their estates: which was a violence against God.* And that seeing the King would yeld to no admonitions, he had at length called this Councell, where they were to consult what was to be done: that for his part, neither the love of the King, though his brother, nor the losse of his living, or danger of his life, should make him faile in the execution of what they should decree.

The King, standing upon this cause, sends certaine Earles to this Councell, to know why he was called thither: Answer was made by the Legat: *That the King, who was subject to the faith of CHRIST, ought not to take it ill, if by the Ministers of CHRIST, he was called to make satisfaction, being conscious of such an offence as that age had not knowne: that it was for times of the Gentiles, for Bishops to be imprisoned, and deprived of their possessions, and there-*

1138.  
*Anno*  
*Reg. 3.*

1140.  
*Anno*  
*Reg. 5.*

The King  
seizes upon  
the Bishops  
Castles and  
Treasure.

The Popes  
Legat a Bi-  
shop takes  
part with Bi-  
shops against  
the King his  
brother  
Malmibury.

fore they should tell the King his brother, That if he would vouchsafe to yeeld consent to the Councell, it should be such by the helpe of God, as neyther the Roman Church, the Court of the King of France, nor the Earle Theobald, brother to them both (a man wise, and religious) should, in reason dislike it: That the King should doe advisedly to render the reason of his Act, and undergoe a Canonick judgement: that he ought in duty to favour the Church, into whose bosome being taken, he was advanced to the Crowne without any military hand.

The Kings  
Reply.

With which answer the Earles departed, attended with Alberic de Ver, a man exercised in the Law; and having related the same, they returned with the Kings reply: which Alberic utters, and urges the injuries Bishop Roger had done to the King: how he seldome came to his Court: that his men, presuming on his power, had offered violence to the nephew and servants of the Earle of Brittain, and to the servants of Herui de Lyons, a man of that Nobility and stoutnesse, as would never vouchsafe to come upon any request to the late King, and yet for the love of this, was desirous to see England: where, to have this violence offered, was an injury to the King, and dishonour to the Realme; that the Bishop of Lincolne, for the ancient hatred to the Earle of Brittain, was the author of his mens sedition: that the Bishop of Salisbury secretly favoured the Kings enemies; and did but subtilly temporize, as the King had found by divers circumstances: especially when Roger de Mortimer, sent with the Kings forces in the great danger of Bristow, he would not lodge him one night in Malmesbury: that it was in every mans mouth, as soone as the Emprasse came, he and his Nephews would render their Castles unto her: That he was arrested, not as a Bishop, but a servant to the King, and one that administered his procurations, and received his monies. That the King tooke not his Castles by violence, but the Bishop voluntarily rendred them, to avoid the calumnie of their tumults raysed in his Court: If the King found some mony in his Castles, he might lawfully seize on it, in regard Roger had collected it out of the revenues of the King his Vncle & predecessor: and the Bishop willingly yeelded up the same, as well as his Castles, through feare of his offences; and of this, wanted not witnesses of the Kings part, who desired that the covenants made betweene him and the Bishop, might remaine ratified.

Against this, Bishop Roger opposes: That he was never servant to the King, nor received his monies; and withall added threatnings, as a man, not yet broken, though bent with his fortunes: that if he found not justice for his wrongs in that Councell, he would bring it to the hearing of a greater Court.

The Legat mildly, as he did other things, sayd: That all what was spoken against the Bishops, ought first to bee examined in the Ecclesiasticall Councell, whether they were true or no, before sentence should have beene given against them contrary to the Canons; and therefore the King should (as it is lawfull in judiciall trials) rewest the Bishops in their former Estates, otherwise by the law of Nations being disseised, they shall not hold their Plea.

After much debate, the Kings cause was (upon a motion) put off till the next day, to the end the Arch-Bishop of Roan, an especiall instrument for the King, might be there; who delivering his opinion said: That if the Bishops could rightly prove by the Canons, they ought to have Castles, they should hold them; but if they could not, it proceeded of great improbity, to strive to doe otherwise. And he is (sayd he) their right to have them; yet in a suspected time, according to the manner of other Nations, all great men ought to deliver the keyes of their Fortresses, to be at the Kings pleasure, who is to fight for the peace of all. But it is not their right by the decree of the Canons to have Castles; and if by the Princes indulgence it be tollerated, yet in a time of necessity, they ought to deliver the Keyes.

The



The Lawyer Elheric addes; That it was signified to the King, how the Bishops threatened, and had furnished some to goe to Rome against him. But said he, the King would have you know, that none of you presume to doe it: for if any goe out of England, contrary to his will, and the dignity of the Kingdome, it will be hard returning. In Conclusion the Councell brake up, nothing was done. The Bishops durst not excommunicate the King, without the Popes privy; and besides, they saw the swords too busie about them; yet failed not the Legat, and the Arch-Bishop to prosecute their parts, and from authority, fell to prayer; and (at the Kings feet in his Chamber) besought him, that he would pity the Church, pity his owne soule and his fame; not to suffer dissention to be, betweene the Kingdome and the Priest-hood. The King returned them faire words, but held what he had gotten.

The Legat and Arch-Bishop's submission.

Shortly after, through griefe, dyed the Bishop of Salisbury, and (according to the fate of over-eminient and greedy Officers) unpittied. He was a man (in his latter time) noted of much corruption, and unsatiabie desire of having. For whom the present King in the beginning of his Reigne had done very much, making one of his Nephewes Chancellour, the other Treasurer, and upon his suite, gave to himselfe the Borough of Malmesbury; insomuch as the King would say to his Familiars about him: If this man will begge, thou still, I will give him halfe the Kingdome but I will please him: and first shall he be weary of craving, ere I of granting. And sure the King had great reason to suspect his adhering to Maude, whose part he began to favour onely, out of the hatred he bare to Winchester; who yet was content to forsake his owne brother, in regard, by his engagement he was preferred to the Crowne, rather than to loose his good will, and the rest of the Clergy.

Maude the Emperesse conducted into England.

But yet this breaking of the King into the Church (which had made him) utterly dissolved him. For presently hereupon all his power fell asunder: The Emperesse found now a way open to let her in, and the Earle of Gloucester presuming of a sure side, conducted her into England onely with 150. men: put her into the Castle of Arundell, and himselfe (attended but with twelve horse) passed away cleare through all the Country to Bristol; and from thence to Gloucester, where he had leisure without opposition, to raise all the Country to take part with the Emperesse; who, from Arundell Castle, was afterward (by the Legat himselfe, and the Kings permission) conveyed to Bristol: received with all obedience, grew daily in strength as she went, and came at length to her brother (who had taken in Hereford, made himselfe strong with the Welsh, and settled those parts) to gather up more of the Kingdome, by shewing herselfe and her power in divers places.

Stephen, having no part cleare (by reason the Castles, upon which he spent both his time and meanes, lay so thicke blockes in his way) as he could not make that speede to stop this streame, as otherwise he would: holding it not safe to goe forward, and leave dangers behind, that might over-take him. And first he layes siege to the Castle of Wallingford, which Brian son to the Earle of Gloucester, held against him: then to the Castle of Bristol and other places, working much, but effecting little: which seeing, to get time and stagger the swift proceeding of this new received Princesse, he causes a treaty of peace to be propounded at Bath, where the Legat (who likewise earnestly solicited the same) with the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, were appointed Commissioners for the King; and the Earle of Gloucester for the Emperesse; but nothing was effected, both returne to make good their sides. The Emperesse seekes to recover more, the King what he had lost: and lest the North parts might fall from him, and the King of Scots come on, he repaires thitherward: And finding the

the Castle of *Lincolne* posselt by *Ralph Earle of Chester*, who had married a daughter of the Earle of *Glocester*, and holding it not fete to be in the hands of such a Maister, in such a time, seekes to take it in by force. The Earle of *Chester*, who held newtrall, attempting nothing against the King, tooke it ill, and stood upon his defence; but being over-layd by power, conveyes himselfe out of the Castle, leaves his brother and wife within to defend it, and procures ayde of his Father in Law the Earle of *Glocester*, to succour him.

The Earle takes in hand this businesse, fets out of *Glocester* with an Army of *Welchmen* and others, attended with *Hugh Bigod*, and *Robert de Morley*, joynes with the Earle of *Chester*, marches to *Lincolne*, where, in the battaile, King *Stephen* wastaken, carried prisoner to *Glocester*, presented to the Empresse, and by her sent to be kept in the Castle of *Bristow*, but in all Honorable fashion, till his attempt to escape layd fetters on him.

Hereupon the Empresse (as at the top of her fortune) labours the Legat to be admitted to the Kingdome, as the daughter of the late King, to whom the Realme had taken an oath to accept for soveraigne in the succession; and wrought so, as a Parle was appointed for this purpose, on the Plaine neere to *Winchester*, where in a blustering sad day (like the fate of the businesse) they met; and the Empresse swore, and made affidavit to the Legat, that all the great businesses, and especially the donation of Bishopricks and Abbeyes should be at his disposing, if he (with the Church) would receive her as Queene of England, and hold perpetuall fidelity unto her. The same oath and affidavit tooke likewise her brother *Robert Earle of Glocester*, *Brian his sonne*, *Marques of Wallingford*, *Miles of Glocester* (after Earle of *Hereford*) with many others for her. Nor did the Bishop sticke to accept her as Queene (though he never came to bee so) and with some few other, made likewise affidavit for his part, that so long as she infringed not her covenant, he would also hold his fidelity to her.

The next day, shee was received with solemne procession into the Bishops Church at *Winchester*, the Bishop leading her on the right hand, and *Barnard Bishop of Saint David* on the left. There were present many other Bishops, as *Alexander Bishop of Lincolne*, and *Nigel Bishop of Eley* (the Nephewes of *Abger*, lately imprisoned) *Robert Bishop of Bath*, and *Robert Bishop of Worcester*, with many Abbors.

Within a few dayes after came *Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury*, to the Empresse, invited by the Legat; but deferred to doe fealty unto her, as holding it unworthy his person and place, without having conferred first with the King. And therefore he, with many Prelats, and some of the Laicity (by permission obtained) went to the King to *Bristow*. The Councell brake up, the Empresse keepes her Easter at *Oxford*, being her owne Towne. Shortly upon Easter a Councell of the Clergy is againe called to *Winchester*, where the first day the Legat had secret conference with every Bishop apart, and then with every Abbor and other, which were called to the Councell. The next day he makes a publike speech, shewing how the cause (of their assembly) was to consult for the peace of their Countrey, in great danger of utter ruine. Repeats the flourishing reigne of his Uncle. The peace, wealth and honour of the kingdome in his time, and how that renowned King, many yeares before his death, had reserved an oath both of England and Normandy, for the succession of his daughter *Maude* and her issue; but, saith he, after his decease, his daughter being then in Normandy, making delay to come into England, where (for that it seemed long to expect) order was to be taken for the peace of the Countrey, and my brother was permitted to Reigne. And although I interposed my selfe a surety between

God

Shee labours  
the Legat for  
the Crowne  
of England.

The Legats  
speech to the  
Clergy, to  
Crowne the  
Empresse.

God and him, that he should honour and exalt the holy Church, keepe and ordaine good Lawes; Yet how he hath behaved himselfe in the Kingdome, it grieves me to remember, and I am asham'd to repeate. And then recounts he all the Kings courses with the Bishops, and all his other mis-governments. And then, sayd he, every man knowes I ought to love my mortall brother, but much more the cause of my immortall Father; and therefore seeing God hath shewed his judgements on my brother, and suffered him (without my knowledge) to fall into the hand of Power: that the kingdome may not miscarry for want of a Ruler, I have called you all hither by the power of my Legation. Yesterday the cause was moved in secret, so the greatest part of the Clergy, to whom the right appertaines to elect and ordaine a Prince. And therefore after having invoked (as it is meete,) the Divine ayde, We elect for Queene of England the daughter of the peaceful, glorious, rich, & in our time the incomparable King; and to her, we promise our faith and allegiance.

When all, who were present, eyther modestly gave their voyce, or by their silence contradicted it not, the Legat addes: The Londoners, who are (in respect of the greatnesse of their City) as among the optimacy of England, we have by our messengers summoned, and I trust they will not stay beyond this day, so morrow we will expect them.

The Londoners came, were brought into the Councell, shewed how they were sent from the Communitie of London, not to bring contention, but prayer, that the King their Lord might be freed from captivity, and the same did all the Barons (received within their Liberties) earnestly beseech of my Lord Legat, and all the Clergy there present. The Legat answers them at large and loftily, according to his speech the day before, and added, That the Londoners who were held in that degree in England, ought not to take their parts, who had forsaken their Lord in the War, by whose Counsell the Church hath beene dishonoured, and who favoured the Londoners but for their owne gaine.

Then stands there up a Chaplaine to Queene Maude, wife to Stephen, and delivers a letter to the Legat, which he silently read, and then said aloud, That it was not lawfull in the assembly of so many reverend and religious persons the same should be publickly read, containing matter reprehensible. The Chaplaine not to faile in his message, boldly reads the Letter himselfe, which was to this effect: That the Queene earnestly intreats all the Clergy there Assembled, and namely the Bishop of Winchester, the Brother of her Lord, to restore him unto the Kingdome, whom wicked men, which were also his subjects, held prisoner.

To this the Legat answers (as to the Londoners) and shortly after the Councell brake up, wherein many of the Kings part were excommunicated: namely William Martell, an especiall man about the King, who had much displeased the Legat.

Hereupon a great part of England willingly accepted of Maude, in whose businesses her brother Robert employes all his diligence and best care, reforming Justice, restoring the Lawes of England, promising relievements, and whatsoever might be to win the people; the Legat seconding all his courses.

But now, she being at the point of obtaining the whole Kingdome, all came suddainly dasht by her over-haughty and proud carriage, and by the practise of the Londoners, who adhering to the other side, began openly to inveigh against her, who had displeased them, and they had plotted to surprize her in their City; whereof shee having notice, secretly withdrawes herselfe (accompanied with her Vnckle David, King of Scots, who was come to visit her and her brother Robert) unto Oxford, a place of more security. The Legat himselfe takes, or makes an occasion to be slacke in her cause, upon her denying him a suite for his Nephew Eustace, the sonne of Stephen, about the

The Legat  
leaves the  
Empresse.



Is intreated  
with teares by  
the Queene,  
regnant.

inheritance of his Earldome of *Mortaigne* in *Normandy*. Besides, the Queene regnant, watchfull over all opportunities, found meanes to parle with the Legat, Sets upon him with her teares, intreaty, promises, and assurance for the Kings reformation: in so much as shee recalled him to the affection of Nature, brought him about againe to absolve such of the Kings part, as he had lately excommunicated.

The Earle of  
*Glocester* taken  
Prisoner.

The Earle of *Glocester*, seeing this suddaine and strange relaps of their affaires, strives, by all meanes to hold up Opinion, and re-quicken the Legats dispositiō, which to keep sound, was all. He brings the Empresse to *Winchester* settles her, and her guard, in the Castle, where she desires to speake with the Legat, who first delayes, then denies to come. Whereupon they call their best friends about them. Queen *Maude* and the Lords incompasse the Towne, and cut off all victuall from the Empresse, so that in the end, the Earle of *Glocester* wrought meanes to have her conveyed from thence to the *Vies*, but himselfe was taken, and in him most of her.

This sets the sides both even againe into the Lists of their tryall: the two Prisoners are to redeeme each other: The disproportion of the quality between them, shewed yet there was an evennes of power, and the Earle would not consent to the Kings delivery (who onely in that was to have the Precedence) but upon most secure cautions. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Legat, undertooke to yeeld themselves Prisoners for him, if the King released him not, according to his promise: But that would not serve the turne, till they both had written their Brieves to the Pope, to intimate the course that was taken herein, and delivered the same unto him, under their hands and seales. So that, if the King should, as he might not care, to hold the Bishops in Prison: yet the Pope, if hard measure were offered, might relieve them. Which shewes the advantage of credit in the businesse, lay on this side, and the King was to have his fetters though at liberty.

1142.  
Anno  
Reg. 7.

The Queene and *Eustace*, her son the Prince, upon the enlargement of *Stephen*, remaine pledges in the Castle of *Bristow*, till the Earle were released, which was done upon the Kings coming to *Winchester*. Where the Earle in familiar conference, was, by all art possible, solicited to forsake the party of *Maude*, with promise of all preferments of honour and estate: but nothing could moove him being fixt to his courses, and rather would he have beene content to remaine a perpetuall Prisoner, than that *Stephen* should have been released, had not his sister wrought him to this conclusion.

The Legat, after this, calls a Councell at *London*, where the Popes letters, written unto him, are openly read, which argue him (but mildly) of some neglect of his brothers releasing, and exhort him to use all meanes Ecclesiasticall and Secular, to set him at liberty.

King Stephens  
complaint.

The King himselfe came into the Councell, complaines, How his subjects, to whom he had never denied Justice, had taken him, and reproachfully afflicted him even to death. The Legat, with great eloquence, labors to excuse his own courses: Alledging, How he received not the Empresse by his will, but necessity: that presently upon the Kings overthrow, whilst the Lords either were fled, or stood in suspence attending the event, shee and her people came thundring to the Walls of *Winchester*: And that, what past sever hee had made with her, for the right of the Church, shee obstinately brake all: Besides, hee was certainly informed, that shee and hers had plotted, both against his dignity and life: But God in his mercy, contrary to her desire, had turned the businesse, so, as he escaped the danger, and his brother delivered out of hands. And therefore he, from the part of God, and the Pope, willed them, with all their utmost power, to ayde the King,

King, annointed by the consent of the People and the Sea Apostolique, and to Excommunicate all the disturbers of the peace that favoured the Countesse of Aniou.

There was in the Councell a Lay Agent for the Empreffe, who openly charged the Legat, That in respect of the faith he had given the Empreffe, to passe no act there, prejudiciall to her Honour: having sworne unto her never to ayde his brother with above twenty souldiers; that her comming into England, was upon his often Letters unto her: and his cause it was, that the King was taken and held prisoner. This, and much more sayd the Agent with great austerity of words, wherewith the Legat seemed not to be mooved at all, nor would stoope to reply.

But both parts thus set at liberty, were left to worke for themselves, holding the State broken betweene them; and no meanes made to interpose any barre to keepe them a sunder. Their borders lay every where, and then the ingagements of their Partakers, who (looke all to be saviors or to recover their itaks when they were lost, which makes them never give over) entertain the contention. But the best was, they were rather troubles then Warres, and cost more labour than blood. Every one fought with Bucklers, and seldome came to the sharpe in the field, which would soone have ended the businesse.

Some few moneths after these enlargements, stood both sides at some rest, but not idle, casting how to compasse their ends. The Empreffe at the Vies with her Councell, resolves to send over her brother into Normandy, to sollicite her husband the Earle of Anion, to come to ayde her with Forces from thence: Her brother the better to secure her in his absence settles her in the Castle of Oxford, well furnished for all assaults: and takes with him the sons of the especiall men about her, as pledges to hold them to their fidelity. Stephen seekes to stop the Earles passage, but could not, and then layes siege to the Castle of Oxford, which held him all the time that the Earle was abroad. Geffery Earle of Anion, desirous rather to have Normandy (whereof, in this meane time, he had attained the most part, and in possibility of the rest) than to adventure for England, which lay in danger, refused to come in person, but sends some small ayde, and his eldest sonne Henry, being then but eleven yeares of age, that he might looke upon England, and be shewed to the people, to try if that would moove them to a consideration of his right: which proved of more effect than an Army.

The Earle of Gloucester safely returning, makes towards Oxford to relieve the Empreffe, who had secretly conveyed her selfe disguised out at a posterne Gate, onely with foure persons, got over the Thames, passed on foote to Abington, and from thence conveyed to Wallingford, where her brother and sonne met her, to her more comfort after hard distresses.

Stephen seeing his enemy thus supplied, and like to grow, labours to win friends, but many failes, which made divers of his Lords, and especially his mercenaries, whereof he had many out of Flanders, to fall to the rising of Abbeyes, which was of dangerous consequence: And for Armies there was no meanes; onely about Castles, with small powers, lay all the businesse of those times, and they being so many were to small effect, but onely to hold them doing, which was for many yeares.

The Earle of Gloucester, the chiefe pillar of the Empreffe, within two yeares after his last comming out of Normandy died, and shortly after Miles Earle of Hereford, an especiall man of hers, which had utterly quasht her, but that in stead of a brother she had a sonne grew up to be of more estimation with

The Earle of Gloucester gets to Normandy.

The Earle returns with the Empreffes eldest sonne Henry.

1143.  
Anno  
Reg. 8.

The Earle of Gloucester dyes.

the Nobility, and shortly after of ablenesse to undergoe the travailes of Warre. His first expedition at sixteene yeares of age was Northward to combine him with *David* King of *Scots* his great Vnckle, to whom his mother had given the Country of *Northumberland*. After him followes *Stephen* with an Army to *Torke*, least he should surprize that City, and to intercept him in his returne: but according to his usuall manner, and *French*-like, after the first heate of his undertakings, which were quicke and brave, he quailles: nothing was effected, and both returne without incountring.

Now to advance the State and meanes of *Henry*, Fortune, as if in love with young Princes, presents this occasion. *Louys* the seventh, King of *France*, going in person to the Holy warres, and taking with him his wife *Elenor*, the onely daughter and heire of *William* Duke of *Guien*, grew into such an odious conceit of her, upon the notice of her lascivious behaviour in those parts, as the first worke he doth upon his comming backe, he repudiates, and turnes her home with all her great dowry, rather content to lose the mighty estate she brought him, than to enjoy her person. With this great Lady matches *Henry* before he was twenty yeares of age, (being now Duke of *Normandy*, his father deceased, who had recovered it for him) and had by her the possession of all those large and rich Countries, appertayning to the Dutchy of *Guien*, besides the Earledome of *Poitou*. Whereupon *Louys* inraged to see him enlarged by this great accession of State, who was so neere, and like to be so dangerous and eminent a neighbour, combines with *Stephen*, and aydes *Eustace* his sonne (whom he married to his sister *Constance*) with maine power, for the recovery of *Normandy*, wherein he was first possesse. But this young Prince, furnished now with all this powerfull meanes, leaves the managemēt of the affaires of *England* to his friends, defends *Normandy*, wrought so, as the King of *France* did him little hurt; and *Eustace* his Competitor, returned home into *England*, where shortly after he dyed, about 18. yeares of his age, borne never to be out of the calamities of Warre, and was buried at *Feversham* with his mother, who deceased a little before, and had no other joy nor glory of a Crowne but what wee see. *Stephen* whilst Duke *Henry* was in *Normandy*, recovers what he could, and at length besieges *Wallingford*, which seemes in these times to have beene a peece of great importance and impregnable, and reduced the Defendants to that extremity, as they sent to Duke *Henry* for succour, who presently thereupon, in the midst of Winter, arrives in *England* with 3000. foote, and 140. horse. Where first, to draw the King from *Willingford*, hee layes siege to *Malmesbury*, and had most of all the great men in the West, and from other parts comming in unto him. *Stephen* now resolved to put it to the tryall of a day, brings thither all the power hee could make; and far over-went his enemy in number; but fouds and stormes, in an unseasonable Winter, kept the Armies from incountring, till the Bishops, doubtfull of the successe, and seeing how dangerous it was for them, and the whole State, to have a young Prince get the maistrty by his sword, mediated a peace, which was after concluded in a Parliament at *Winchester*, upon these conditions.

1. That King *Stephen*, during his naturall life, should remaine King of *England*, and *Henry* enjoy the Dukedome of *Normandy*, as descended unto him from his mother, and be Proclaimed Heire apparent to the Kingdome of *England* as the adopted sonne of King *Stephen*.

2. That the partizans of either, should receive no damage, but enjoy their Estates according to their ancient Rights and Titles.

3. That the King should resume into his hands all such parcels of inheritance belonging



longing to the Crowne, as had beene alienated by him, or usurped in his time, And that all those possessions which by intrusion had beene violently taken from the owners since the dayes of King Henry, should be restored unto them who were rightly possessed therein, when the sayd King reigned.

4. That all such Castles as had beene built by the permission of Stephen, and in his time (which were found to be 1117) should be demolished, &c.

There is a Charter of this agreement in our Annals, which hath other Articles of reservation for the Estates of particular persons. And first for William, the second sonne of Stephen, to enjoy all the possessions his Father held before hee was King of England, and many other particulars of especiall note.

After this pacification and all businesse here settled, Duke Henry returns into Normandy and likewise there concludes a peace with the King of France, and for that he would be sure to have it, buyes it, with twenty thousand markes.

And now King Stephen having attayned (that he never had) peace, which yet, it seemes, he enjoyed not a yeare after) uses all the best meanes he could to repayre the ruines of the State, makes his progresses into most parts of the Kingdome, to reforme the mischiefes that had growne up under the sword: And after his returne calls a Parliament at London, to consult of the best meanes for the publicke good. After the Parliament, he goes to meete the Earle of Flanders at Dover, who desired conference with him, and having despatcht him, falls presently sicke, dyes within few dayes after, and was buried (in the Abbey hee founded) at Feversham, with the unfortunate Princes.

A. 1154.  
He reigned  
18. yeares,  
and ten  
moneths.

A man so continually in motion, as we cannot take his dimension, but one-ly in passing, and that but on one side, which was Warre: On the other, we never saw but a glaunce of him, which yet, for the most part, was such, as shewed him to be a very worthy Prince for the Government. He kept his word with the State concerning the relievements of Tributes, and never had Subsidy that we finde.

But which is more remarkable, having his sword continually out, and so many defections and rebellions against him, He never put any great man to death. Besides it is noted, that notwithstanding all these miseries of Warre, That here were more Abbeyes built in his Reigne, than in an hundred yeares before, which shewes, though the times were bad, they were not impious.

The end of the Life and Reigne of King Stephen.

## The Life and Reigne, of Henry the second; And first of the Line of Plantagenet.



HAT short time of peace, before the death of Stephen, had so allayed the spirit of contention, and prepared the Kingdome (weari- ed and defaced with Warre) to that disposition of quietnesse: as Henry Plantagenet (though a French-man borne, and at that time, out of the Land: long detayned with contrary Winds, yet a Prince of so great possessions abroad, as might make him feared, to bee too mighty a maister at home. or doubtfull, where he would set his seate: Whether carry England thither, or bring those great States to this) was, notwithstanding generally admitted (without any opposition or capitulation, other than the usuall oath) to the Crowne of England: which hee received at the hands of Theobald, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, the twentieth

1155.  
Anno  
Reg. 1.

twentieth day of December, Anno 1154. about the three and twentieth yeare of his age.

And though he were a Prince Young, Active, powerfull, and had all that might make him high and presuming: Yet the necessity of his owne affayres, were so strong raines to hold him in, from all exorbitant courses: as made him wary to observe at first, all meanes to get, and retaine the love and good opinion of this Kingdome, by a regular and easie Government: being sure to have the King of France perpetually awake, for all advantages (both in regard of the daily quarrells, common to mighty neighbours; as also for matching with her that came out of his bed, and brought away those mighty Provinces from that Crowne, whereby, he comes now to over-match him) being thus invested in this powerfull Kingdome of England. Where, after having made a choyce of grave Counsellors, such as best understood the state thereof; he began at a Councell or Parliament held at Wallingford, with an Act (that both served his owne turne, and much eased the stomachs of his people) which was the expulsion of Strangers, wherewith the Land was much pestered, by reason of the late wars that had drawne great numbers of them, and especially of Flemings and Picards, whom King Stephen especially trusted in his greatest actions, after he grew doubtfull of the English fidelity, and had made their Leader William d'Ipres, Earle of Kent, who likewise was turned home, and his estate seized into the Kings hands.

Expulsion of  
Strangers.

Then, that he might subsist by his owne meanes, without pressure of his subjects, (whose voluntary services, and contributions, would yeeld him more in measure, than if exacted) he lookes to the State, and ordering of his revenues, reformes the Exchequer, and revokes all such Lands belonging to the Crowne, as had any way beene alienated, or usurped. And though some of the great Lords stood out for the holding what they had in possession, as Hugh de Mortimer for his Castles of Clebury, Wigmore, and Bridgenorth; and Roger Fitz Miles, Earle of Hereford for the City and Lands of Gloucester: yet the King tooke them by force as appertayning to the Crowne. Besides, he resumed the Castle of Skarborough, which William Earle of Albemarle held, and divers other Lands and Castles in Yorkshire, possessed by private men. Hugh Bigot resigned his Castles into the Kings hands. And more, he took from William Earle of Mortaine, and Warren, base sonne to King Stephen, the Castle of Pemsey, the City of Norwich: with other Townes and Castles, notwithstanding himselfe granted the same, in his agreement with Stephen; alledging, They were of the Demaynes of the Crowne, and could not be aliened. Onely he suffered him to enjoy such lands, as his Father, King Stephen held in England, in the time of Henry the first.

Resumption  
of Crowne  
Lands.

Then goes he Northward, and recovers the City of Carlisle, seizes all Cumberland into his hands; and after takes the Towne of New-Castle, with the Castle of Bamberge, and so resumed all Northumberland, which his Mother (the Empreffe) had before granted to David King of Scots, her Vnckle (Grand-father to Malcolin, who now reigned) as being not in his Mothers power, nor his, to give away any part of the Kingdome. Notwithstanding, he was content, Malcolin should enjoy the Earledome of Huntingdon, which King Stephen had given to Henry Prince of Scotland, Father to Malcolin, as being a peece in the heart of England, whereof he could make no use, but at the Kings pleasure; and besides, was a meanes, to hold him his Homager, and to performe those services belonging to that Earledome.

And the same course tooke he with the Alienations, and usurpations formerly made of the Demaynes of the Dutchy of Normandy, and forced

Theobald

Theobald Earle of Blois, to resigne into his hands, two Castles, and Petryoch Earle of Perch, other two. These revocations, whereby so many were indamaged in their estates, and Grants, both of his Predecessors, and his owne utterly nullified, might seeme to be an act of great injustice, and in a new Government, of little safety. But in regard, the Common-wealth had thereby a benefit; and but few (though great) interested, it passed as a worke universally necessary, seeing his Maintenance otherwise, must be made up out of publicke taxations, which would turne to a generall grievance. But the resuming of the Earledome of Anjou out of his brother Geffryes hands, contrary to his oath, cannot but be held a straine beyond conscience and good nature. For his father Geffrey Plantagenet desirous to leave some estate to his second sonne Geffrey, ordayned by his Testament, That when Henry had recovered the Kingdome of England, the other should have the Countie of Anjou; and in the meane time, put Geffrey in possession of the Castles and Townes of Chinon, Loudun, and Mirabell, whereby hee might, both have maintenance for his estate, and a readier meanes to come to the rest when occasion served. And lest his sonne Henry would not performe his will, he got certaine Bishops, and other Nobles to sweare, that they should not suffer his body to be interred, till Henry, who was then absent, had sworne to fulfill his Testament: Henry, rather than to suffer his fathers body to lye unburied, With great unwillingnes takes this oath. But after being invested in the Crowne of England, &c Geffrey seazing upon the Earledome of Anjou, he passes over into France, and not onely takes from him the Earledome, but also those three townes he had in possession; alledging, It was no reason, a forced oath (upon such an occasion) should bind him to forgoe the inheritance of his birth-right, (being all the Patrimony, that was to descend unto him from his Father) and though he had recovered the Kingdome of England; that was not his fathers worke, but by another right. And although he held his brother deare unto him, yet having Children of his owne, he was to provide, that what was his, should descend to them. But yet was content, to allow his brother an honorable pension (of a thousand pounds English, and two thousand pounds of Anjouin money yeately) for the maintenance of his estate; and obtained of Pope Adrian the fourth (an English man borne) a dispensation for his Oath, made in this case.

The King resumes the Earledome of Anjou.

And now the first occasion, that put him hereinto action of Warre, was the Rebellion of the Welch, who according to their usuall manner, ever attempted some thing, in the beginning of the Reigne of new Princes, as if to try their spirits, and their owne Fortunes. Against whom he goes so prepared, as if he meant to goe through with his Worke. Wherein at first, he had much to doe, passing a streight among the Mountaines, where he lost (with many of his men) Eustace Fitz John, and Robert Cursey, eminent persons; and himselfe noysed to be slaine, so much discouraged that part of the Army, which had not passed the Streights, as Henry an Earle of Essex, threw downe the Kings Standard (which he bare by inheritance) and fled; but soone, the King made it knowne, he was alive, discomfited his enemies, and brought them to seeke their peace with submission. The Earle of Essex was after accused, by Robert de Monferr for this misdeede, had the Combate, was overcome, pardoned yet of life, but condemned to be shorne a Monke, put into the Abbey of Reading, and had his Lands seised into the Kings hands.

It was now the fourth yere of the reigne of this King; when, all his affaires were in prosperous course; his State increasing, his Queene fruitfull, and had borne him three sonnes in England, Henry, Richard and Geffrey: his eldest sonne William (to whom he had caused the Kingdome, to take an Oath of fealty)

1156.  
Anno  
Reg. 2.

His first expedition into Wales.

The punishment of Cowardize.

1158.  
Anno  
Reg. 4.



The resignati-  
on of Nants  
to the King of  
England.

King Henries  
claime to the  
Earledome of  
Tholoufe.

fealty) dyed shortly after his comming to the Crowne, so that now, the same Oath is rendred to *Henry*, and all is secure and well on this side.

The King of *France*, who would gladly have impeached the mighty current of this Kings Fortune, was held in, and fettered with his owne necessities: his journey to the Holy Land, had exhausted all his Treasure, and since his comming home, the Pope had exacted great summes of him for dispensing with his second marriage, which was with *Constantia* daughter to *Alphonso*, King of *Galicia*, a feeble alliance, and farre off, so that all concurred to increase the greatnesse of this King of *England*; who having now almost surrounded *France* (by possessing first all *Normandy*, with a great footing in *Brittaine* by the resignation of *Nants*, with the Country there about, which *Conan* the Duke was forced lately to make unto him; then the Earledome of *Maine*, *Poitou*, *Touraine*, *Anion* with the Dutchy of *Guien*) he also layes claime to the rich Earledome of *Tholoufe* upon this Title:

*William Duke of Aquitaine* grandfather to *Queene Elionor*, married the daughter and heire of the Earle of *Tholoufe*, and going to the holy Wars, ingaged that Earledome to *Raymond Earle of St. Gyles*, & never returned to redeeme it. *William* his sonne, father to *Queene Elionor*, cyther through want of meanes, or neglect, delayed likewise the redemption thereof; so that the Earle of *St. Giles* continuing in possession whilst he lived, left it to his sonne *Raymond*, of whom *King Louys* of *France* (having married *Elionor*, the daughter and heire of the last *William*) demanded the restitution, with tender of the summe for which it was ingaged. *Raymond* refuses it, and stands to his possession, as of a thing absolutely sold or forfeited: but being too weake to contend with a King of *France*, fell to an accord and married his sister *Constance*, widow of *Eustace* sonne to *King Stephen*, and so continues the possession. Now *King Henry* having married this *Elionor*, and with her was to have all the Rights she had, tendred likewise (as the King of *France* had done, in the same case) the summe formerly disbursed, upon the mortgage of that Earledome. And withall makes ready his sword to recover it, and first combines in league and amity, with such, whose Territories bordred upon it: as with *Raymond*, Earle of *Barcelona*, who had married the daughter and heire of the King of *Aragon*, a man of great Estate in those parts, entertained him with conference of a match betweene his second sonne *Richard*, and his daughter: with covenant, that *Richard* should have the inheritance of the Dutchy of *Aquitaine*, and the Earledome of *Poitou*. Besides, he takes into his protection *William* Lord of *Trancheville* (possessing likewise) many great Signories in the Countrey: and one who held himselfe much wronged in his Estate, by the Earle of *Tholoufe*.

1159.  
Anno  
Reg. 5.

These aydes prepared, he leavies an Army, and goes in person to besiege the Citie of *Tholoufe*, and takes along with him *Malcolin*, King of *Scots*, who (comming to his Court to doe him homage, for the Earledome of *Huntingdon*, and to make claime for those other peeces, taken from his Crowne) was entertayned with so many fayre words and promises of *King Henry*, as drew him along to this Warre.

The Earle of *Tholoufe* understanding the intentions of the King of *England*, craves ayde of his brother in Law the King of *France*, who likewise with a strong Armie, comes downe in person to succour *Tholoufe*, and was there before the King of *England* could arrive with his Forces; whereupon, seeing himselfe prevented, and in dis. advantage, *King Henry* fell to spoyling the Country, and takes in *Cahors* in *Quercy*, where he places a strong Garrison to bridle the *Tholonsains*, and so retournes into *Normandy*, gave the order of Knight-hood to *King Malcolin* at *Tours*: augments his Forces, and enters the

the Countrey of *Beauvoisin*, where he destroyes many Castles, and commits great spoyle. And to adde more anoyance to the King of *France*, he obtained of the Earle de *Auranches*, the two strong Castles *Richford* and *Monsford*, which furnished with Garrisons, impeached the passage twixt *Orleanes* and *Paris*, inso much as the Warre and weather grew hot betwixt these two great Princes, and much effusion of blood was like to follow, but that amediation of peace was made, and in the end concluded, With a match betwixt the young Prince Henry, not seven yeares of age, and the Lady Margaret eldest daughter to the King of *France* scarce three; weak links, to hold in so mighty Princes. The young Lady was delivered rather as an Ostage than a Bride, to *Robert de Newburge*, to be kept till her yeares would permit her to live with her husband. In the meane time, notwithstanding, many ruptures hapned betwixt the Parents: The first whereof grew upon the King of *England* getting into his owne hand the Castle of *Gisors*, with two other Castles upon the River *Eata*, in the confines of *Normandy*: delivered up before the due time by three Knights *Templars*, to whom they were committed in trust, till the marriage were consummated. And this cost some blood: the Knight *Templars* are persecuted by the King of *France*, and the King of *England* receives them.

But now the advantage of power lying all on this side, and the King seeing himselfe at large (and how much hee was abroad) beganne to be more at home, and to looke to the Prerogatives of his Crowne, which as he was informed, grew much infringed by the Clergy: which since the time of *Henry* the first, were thought to have enlarged their jurisdiction beyond their vocation; and himselfe had found their power, in the election of King *Stephen*, with whom they made their owne conditions, with all advantages for themselves, whereby they deprived his Mother and her Issue, of their succession to the Crowne. And though afterwards by their mediation, the peace twixt him, and *Stephen* was concluded, and his succession ratified: yet for that, might hee thanke his Sword, the Justice of his cause, and strong party in the Kingdome. What they did therein shewed him rather their power, than their affection; and rather put him in minde of what they had done against him at first, than layed any obligation on him, for what they did afterward. And his owne example, seeing them apt to surprise all advantages for their owne advancement, made him doubt how they might deale with his Posterity, if they found occasion; and therefore is he easily drawne to abate their power in what he could.

To this motion of the Kings dislike, the Lay Nobilitie (emulous of the others authority) layd more weights: alledging how the immunities of the Clergy tooke up so much from the Royalty, as his execution of justice, could have no generall passage in the kingdome: the Church held their Dominion apart, and free from any other authority than their owne: and being exempt from secular punishments, many enormous acts were committed by Clergy men, without any redresse to be had; and it was notified to the King, that since the beginning of his Reigne, there had bene above a hundred Monasteries committed within the Realme of *England*, by Priests and men within Orders.

Now had the King, a little before (upon the death of *Theobald* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*) preferred *Thomas Becket*, a creature and servant of his owne, to that See. A man whom first, from being Arch-deacon of *Canterbury*, he made his Chancellor, and finding him Diligent, Fruffy and Wise, imployes him in all his greatest busineses of the State: by which tryall of his service and fidelity, hee might expect to have him ever the readier to advance his affayres, upon all occasions. And besides, to shew how much hee respected

1160.  
Anno  
Reg. 6.

Prince Henry contracted to Margaret daughter to the King of France.

The King seeks to abate the power of the Clergy, and the cause thereof.

Complaints against the Clergy.

1161.  
Anno  
Reg. 7.

Thomas Becket preferred to the See of Canterbury.

respected his worth and integrity, he commits unto him the education of the Prince, a charge of the greatest consequence in a Kingdome, which shall be ever fure to finde their Kings as they are bred. At the beginning of this mans promotion, this reformation of Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction is let upon, a worke (in regard of that time of devotion) of great difficultie: the Bishops having from the beginning of Christianity, first under the Saxon Kings, principally swayed the State; and though at the entrance of the Norman, they were much abridged of their former liberties, they held themselves if not content, yet quiet. For albeit they had not that power in temporall buinesse as before; yet, within their owne circle, they held their owne jurisdiction, and immunities; and had since, both by the Law, Civill Warres, and the occasion of Forraigne affaires, much enlarged them. So that any restriction, or diminution, of the power they had, could not but touch veynes that were very sensible in that part: especially, by reason of the universall participation of the Spirit that fed them; and therefore could not be but a buinesse of much trouble.

The King convokes a Councell at Westminster, and there first propounds to have it enacted, That all such of the Clergy as should be taken and convicted for any hainous offence, should lose the priviledge of the Church, and be delivered to the civill Magistrat, to be punished for their offences, as other the Kings Subjects were. For, if after spirituall punishment, no secular correction should be used; there would be no sufficient meane to restraine them from doing mischief: seeing it was not likely, such men would much care for their degrading and losse of Orders, whom the Conscience of their calling did not hold in awe.

The Arch-Bishop and his suffragans, with the rest of the Bishops, shewed the King how they were not to yeeld to any such Act, being against the liberties of the Church, which himselfe had sworne to defend and maintaine; and therefore humbly besought him, that he would not urge any thing to the prejudice of their jurisdiction, and such immunities as they had hitherto enjoyed, both under him and his Noble Progenitors.

The King not liking this answer demands, Whether they would submit themselves to the Lawes and Customes, which the Arch-Bishops and Bishops, in the time of his grandfather Henry the first did observe? They answered, They would; their Order, the honour of God, and holy Church, and all things saved; with which reservation the King grew more displeased, the Parliament brake up, and nothing effected at that time, for he law the Bishops fast to themselves, and the more by the animation of the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, whom he thought (in regard of all those his graces bestowed on him) to have found more yeelding to his courses, and therefore his indignation was most against him: And because he would make him see what the displeasure of so mighty a King was, who could as well cast downe as advance: First denies him access: then takes from him what he could possibly, countenances all such as were his opposites, his businesses in any the Kings Courts goe against him; the Earle of Clare is supported in a contestation he had with him, about his Homage for the Castle of Tunbridge, and prevails: nothing is left undone, that might bee thought to humble him. And besides the King wrought so, as he waxes the knot, gaires first the Arch-Bishop of Yorke, (the ancient Competitor with Canterbury in dignity) and after the Bishop of Lincoln, Hereford and the speciall Prelates: and separates them from the Councell, and company of the Arch-Bishop Becket.

Notice of this jarre being given abroad, a Messenger is sent from the Pope, & all the Cardinalls to reconcile it, and to charge the Arch-bishop to make peace with

A Parliament  
at Westmin-  
ster.

1163.  
Anno  
Reg. 9.



with his Lord the King, and promise to observe his Lawes without exception. The Archbishop pressed with this message, and the advice of many great men repaires to the King at Woodstocke, and there promises in good faith, without any evill meaning, to observe the Kings Lawes so farre forth as was required.

The King supposing now things better prepared for his purpose than before, calls a generall Assembly of the Bishops, and Nobility at Clarendon, where John of Oxford, the Kings Clerke was President of the Councell: And a very strict charge is given from the King, That they might call to memory the Lawes of his Grand-father Henry the first, and to reduce them into Writing: which being done, he willed the Archbishop and Bishops, to set their Seales thereunto. Which when the rest were content to doe, the Archbishop Becket refused: Yet at length, by the perswasion of the Bishops (urging him to satisfie the Kings pleasure, and appease his wrath, in regard of his present danger, which, by the rushing up and downe of the Kings servants, with threatening countenances, they suspected themselves likely to fall into.) Hee took his Oath to observe the Kings Lawes without any reservation, And for the writing desired to have a Coppy, as if better to advise thereof. And taking it into his hand, he turns to the Clergy, and said: Brethren stand fast, you see the malice of the King, and of whom we are to beware.

A Parliament at Clarendon.

1164.  
Anno  
Reg. 10

The Archbishop Becket, takes his oath to observe the Kings Lawes.

The King useth all means to vex the Archbishop.

So the Councell ended, but on the Kings displeasure against the Archbishop, whom onely he found, durst beate up against his power, the rest all yeelding thereunto, and therefore proceeded he, by all means to vex and disgrace him, and so advance his Concurrent the Archbishop of Yorke, whom he solicited the Pope (by his Agents John of Oxford, and Geoffrey Riddle) to make his Legat of all England. Which the Pope (fore-warned, acquainted with his businesse) refused to doe: yet at the petition of those Agents, granted that Legation to the King himselfe, but so as he should doe nothing to grieve the Archbishop; which the King tooke as a great indignity, and sent backe his Agents with the Popes Grant.

The Archbishop repents him of his oath.

The Archbishop Becket after his oath at Clarendon, so repented, as he suspended himselfe from the service of the Altar, and did sharpe penance till he had obtained absolution from the Pope. Which (upon his information of the case) was sent him. After this, as some write, he attempts to depart out of the Kingdome, contrary to a Law made at Clarendon (forbidding Archbishops, Bishops, and other persons to depart out of the Realme without the Kings leave. Which, although they obtained, yet were notwithstanding to secure the King, neither in their going, returning, or staying there, to practise anything prejudiciall to his State or Person.) But being by contrary winds brought backe, he more exasperates the King against him.

A Parliament at Northampton.

The Archbishop called to account.

After this, he is summoned to an assembly at Northampton (holden about the ratification of the acts of Clarendon) where (to despise him the more) the Kings horses are placed in his Inn; and there, first had he a case adjudged against him, concerning a Mannor, for which, one John the Kings Marshall contended with him in Law, and besides the losse of the Mannor, was cast in arrerages, five hundred Markes, which the King was said to have sent him; but he alledged how it was given: yet because he confessed the receite, and could not proove the gift, he was condemned to pay it. Then was he called to render an account to the King of all such receits as in the time of his Chancellorship, he had received for the King, of certaine Bishopricks and Abbeyes during their vacancies, which amounted to 3000. markes. For these accounts, he alledged, How the King knew well, he was discharged before his election to be se of Camterbury; But

the Prince, the Barons of the Exchequer, & Robert de Lucie, chiefe Iustice of England had made him his acquittance for all accounts; and secular receits, in the behalfe of the King: and so (free and cleared) was he chosen to the administration of that office, and therefore would pleade the same no more.

The King, notwithstanding, urging to have judgement passe against him, both for this, his late attempts and disobedience, he was commanded the next day to attend his Censure. The morning before he was to appeare, he celebrates earely with great devotion, the Masse of St. Stephen Protomartyr, which had these words: *Etenim sederunt Principes, & adversum me loquebantur*; and so committing his cause to God sets forward to the Court in his Stole, his blacke Canonick hood, carrying the Crosse in his right hand, and guiding his horse with the left. The people seeing him come in this fashion, flock all about him; he entering the great Chamber, sate downe amongst them, the King being within, in his Privy Chamber with his Councell: from whom first came forth the Bishop of London, and much blames him for comming so armed to the Court, and offered to pull the Crosse out of his hand, but the Arch-Bishop held it so fast that he could not. Which the Bishop of Winchester seeing, sayd to London, Brother, let him alone, he ought well to beare the Crosse: London replies, you speake brother against the King, and it will be ill for you. After this comes forth the Arch-Bishop of Torke (the heate of whole ancient hatred, saith Hoveden, would not suffer him to speake in peace, and rebukes him very sharply, for comming in that fashion, as if to a Tyrant, or heathen Prince; and told him, That the King had a sword sharper than his Crosse, and if he would be advised by him, he should take it from him. Canterbury replies, the Kings sword wounds carnally, but mine striketh Spiritually, and sends the soule to Hell.

Roger Hoveden.

After much debate, the Arch-Bishop Becker invayes against this Violent proceeding against him: How no age ever heard before, that an Arch-Bishop of Canterbury had bene adjudged in any of the Kings Courts for any cause whatsoever, in regard both of his Dignity and Place; and for that he is the Spirituall Father of the King, and all other his Subjects. Then to the Bishops, You see the World rageth against me, the enemy riseth up; but I more lament, the Sons of my Mother fight against me. If I should conceale it, the age to come will declare, how you leave me alone in the Battell, and have judged against me, being your Father, though never so much a sinner. But I charge you by vertue of your Obedience, and perill of your Order, that you be not present in any place of judgement, where my Person or cause comes to be adjudged. And here I appeale to the Pope: Charging you farther by Vertue of your Obedience, that if any Temporall man lay hands on me, you exercise the Sentence of the Church; as it becomes you, for your Father the Arch-Bishop, who will not shrinke howsoever, nor leave the Flocke committed unto him.

Complaints against the Archbishop.

Then were all these great complaints of his Contempt, disobedience and Perjury, exhibited, and aggravated against him before the assembly, and they cryed generally he was a Traytor, that having received so many benefits at the Kings hands, would refuse to doe him all earthly honour, and observe his Lawes as he had sworne to doe. The Bishops likewise, seeing all thus bent against him, Renounced their Ecclesiasticall obedience unto him, cited him to Rome, and condemned him as a perjur'd man and a Traytor.

Then the Earle of Leicester accompanied with Reginald Earle of Cornwall, came to the Arch-Bishop, and charged him from the King to answer to what was objected unto him, or else to heare his judgement. Nay, sonne Earle, said he, first heare you: It is not unknowne to your selfe, how faithfully I have served the

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the King, and how in regard thereof he preferred me to the place I have (God is my witness) against my will. For I knew mine owne infirmities, and was content to take it upon me, rather for his pleasure, than Gods cause; therefore now doth God withdraw himselfe, and the King from me. At the time of my election he made me free from all Court bondage, and therefore touching those things from which I am delivered, I am not bound to answer, nor will I. Now much the soule is worthier than the body, so much are you bound to obey God, and me rather than any earthly Creature: neither will Law or Reason permit the Sonnes to condemne the Father: And I refuse to stand eyther to the Iudgement of the King or any other Person; appealing to the presence of the Pope by whom onely on Earth I ought to be adjudged, committing all I have to Gods protection and his; and under this authority I depart off this place. And so went hee out and tooke his Horse, not without some difficulty in passing, and many reproaches of the Kings servants.

Being gotten out of the Court, a great multitude of the Common people (rejoycing to see him delivered) and divers of the Clergy conveyed him honourably to the Abbey of Saint Andrewes, whence disguised (by the name of Dereman) he escaped over into Flanders and so to France.

The Arch-Bishop disguised fled out of the Kingdome.

This businesse of the Church, I have the more particularly delivered (according to the generall report of the Writers of that time) in regard it lay so chayned to the Temporall affaires of the State, and bewrayed so much of the face of that Age, with the constitution both of the Sovereignty, and the rest of the body, as it could not well be omitted. Besides, the effects it wrought in the succeeding Reigne of this Prince, the vexation, charge, and grievous burthen it layed upon him for many yeares, is worthy of note, and shewes us what spirit had predomination in that season of the World, and what Engines were used in this Oppugnation.

Presently upon the departure of this Great Prelate, the King sends over to the King of France, Gilbert Bishop of London, and William Earle of Arundell, to entreat him, not onely to forbid the Arch-Bishop his Kingdome, but to be a meane to the Pope, that his cause might not be favoured by the Church, being so contumacious a rebell as he was against his Sovereigne Lord.

The King of France notwithstanding this intreaty, sends Fryer Francis his Almoner under hand to the Pope, to beseech him, as he tendred the honour of holy Church, and the ayde of the Kingdome of France, to support the cause of Thomas of Canterbury, against the Tyrant of England.

King Henry sends likewise with all speede, Roger Arch-Bishop of Yorke, the Bishops of Winchester, London, Chester and Excester: Guido Rufus, Richard Beche, and John of Oxford, Clerkes: William Earle of Arundell, Hugh de Gundevile, Barnard de Saint Walleric, and Henry Fitz Gerrard, to informe the Pope of the whole cause, and prevent the Arch-Bishops complaint. The multitude and greatnesse of the Commissioners shewed the importance of the Ambassage, and the Kings earnest desire to have his cause prevaile. They finde the Pope at the City of Sens, to whom, they shewed how pervers and disobedient the Arch-Bishop had behaved himselfe to his Sovereigne Lord the King of England; how he alone refused to obey his Lawes and Customes, which he had sworne to doe; and that by his peevish waywardnesse, the Church and Kingdome were like to be disturbed, which otherwise would agree in the reformation thereof, as was fit and necessary; and therefore they besought him, as he tendred the peace of the Church of England, and the love of the King their Sovereigne, not to give credit or grace, to a man of so turbulent and dangerous a spirit.

The King sends Ambassadors to the Pope.



This Information (notwithstanding earnestly urged) they found moved not any disposition in the Pope to favour the Kings cause, so that in the end, *They besought him to send two Legats over into England, to examine the particulars of this businesse, and how it had beene carried; and in the meane time, to admit no other information of the cause, but referre it to their relation.* The Pope refuses to send any Legat; the Commissioners depart without any satisfaction. And within foure dayes after, comes the Arch-Bishop and prostrates himselfe at the Popes feet: delivers him a copy of those Lawes, which the King called his *grandfathers Lawes*, which being openly read in the presence of all the Cardinals, Clergy and many other people, *The Pope condemned them for ever, and accursed those who obeyed or any way favoured them.*

Those Lawes among the Statutes of *Clarendon*, which the Arch-Bishop so much oppugned (and most offended the Clergy) were (as by his owne letter to the Bishop of *London* appeares) these especially: *That there should be no appeale to the Apostolicke See, without the Kings leave. That no Arch-Bishop or Bishop should goe out of the Realme but by the Kings permission. That no Bishop excommunicate any, who held of the King, in Capite, or interdict any Officiall of his without the Kings leave, &c. That Clergy men should be drawne to secular judgement. That Lay-men (as the King and others) should handle causes of the Church, Tythes, and such like.* And these were dangerous incroachments upon their Liberties.

But now the King, seeing his Ambassage to take no effect, and withall, in a manner contemned, presently makes his heave displeasure, and the scorne he tooke, knowne by his severe Edicts, both against the Pope, and the Arch-Bishop, that they might see what edge his secular power had in this: Ordayning, *That if any were found carrying Letters, or Mandate from the Pope, or Arch-Bishop, containing any interdiction of Christianity in England, he should be taken, and without delay executed as a traitor, both to the King and Kingdome. That whatsoever Bishop, Priest, Monke or Converser in any Order, Clergie, or Layman, should have and retaine any such letters; should forfeite all their possessions, goods and chattells to the King, and be presently banished the Realme with their kinne. That no Clergymen, Monke or other should be permitted to passe over Sea, or returne out of Normandy into England, without letters from the Iustices heere, or from the King being there; Upon paine to be taken as a Malefactor, and put in hold. That none should appeale to the Pope. That all Clerkes which had any revenue in England should returne into the Realme within three moneths, upon paine of forfeiting their estates to the King.*

*That Peter Pence should be collected and sequestred till the Kings pleasure were farther knowne.*

Besides this, he banishes all that were found to be any way of kinne to the Arch-Bishop, without exception of condition, sex, or yeares. And withall, takes occasion upon the Schisme which was then in the Church, to renounce Pope *Alexander*, and incline to the Emperours faction, which stood thus.

After the death of *Adrian* the fourth, *Rowland a Genevese*, and a great enemy of the Empire, is by two and twenty Cardinalls elected Pope by name of *Alexander* the third, to which election foure Cardinalls opposed, and made choice of *Ottavian* a Cittizen of *Rome* that would be called *Victor* the fifth. The Emperor *Frederic Barbarossa* summons these two Popes to a Council at *Pavia*, to understand & determine their right. *Alexander* makes the old answer, *That the Pope could not be judged by any man living*, refuses to appeare before the Emperour, & withdrawes into *Anagnia*. *Victor* consents to appeare there or where ever the Emperour would appoint, so that, he was the man for that

1166.  
Anno  
Reg. 12

The Kings  
Edicts against  
the Pope and  
his agents.

The election  
of two Popes.

that side. But all the other Princes of Christendome (except those of the Emperours faction) acknowledge Alexander for Pope, as elected by most voyces. And especially by the King of France who called him thither; and at Cocy upon Lojr, he and the King of England received him with all honour and reverence, in so much, as they are sayd to have attended upon his Stirrop, the one on the right hand, the other on the left: after this, he calls a Councell at Tours, whither the Kings of England, Spaine and Hungary send their Ambassadors, and there, are the constitutions of the Councell of Pavia, and the Emperours confirmation of Victor nullified, so that Alexander having his party daily encreasing in Italy, was shortly after received into Rome.

Notwithstanding all this, the King of England finding him so avers in this businesse, Falls off from him, renounces his Authority, turnes to the Emperours faction, seekes to strengthen himselfe with the Princes of Germany, consents to match his daughter Maude to the Duke of Saxony, at the motion of Reginald Arch-Bishop of Collen, sent over by the Emperour for that purpose, and entertaines a motion for another daughter to be matched with the Emperours son.

But now by reason this contrary faction to Pope Alexander grew to bee but feeble, all this working did the King no good, but exasperates the Pope, and sets him on the more to support the cause of the Arch-Bishop, Who solicites the Clergy of England, threatens, entreates, adjures them not to forsake their hold, nor give way to the invador of their liberties, which sought to confound the Priest-hood and the Kingdome: and if they opposed not mainly at the first, but suffered the least breach to be made upon them, they were undone. Then excommunicates he all the especiall ministers of the King that adhered to the Tenthique faction, or held intelligence with the Arch-Bishop of Collen: As Iohn of Oxford, Richard Iuechefer, Richard de Lucie, Iosling Balliol, Alan de Ne-vile, and with these all such as had entred upon the goods of the Church of Canterbury, which he called the Patrimony of the Crucifix, and the foode of the poore: and there were Ralph de Brocke, Hugh Saint Clare, and Thomas Fitz Barnard. Thus are both sides busied in this drie Warre, wherein, though there were no sword, yet it gave vexation enough.

Pope Alexander's Letters to the Clergy of England.

And yet this was not all the worke that tooke up the Kings time; for during this dissention, the Welsh againe revolt, and to suppress them he spent much labour, with the losse of many great men, and was himselfe in that danger, as had not Hubert Saint Clare received a Wound for him, by an Arrow aymed directly at his owne person, he had there finished his part. In this expedition he is sayd, to have used extreame crueltie.

The King represses the Welsh.

After this, he passes into Normandy to be neere his businesse, which now lay all on that side. And first to entertaine the opinion of Piety (though he were false out with the Pope) he obtaines at an Assembly of his Bishops and Barons of Normandy, two pence in the pound, of every mans Lands and goods to be payd that yeare 1166. and a penny of every pound to be paid for foure yeares following, which was levied for the reliefe of the Christians in the Holy War, and sent unto them.

1166.  
Anno  
Reg. 13.

Then he raises forces and takes in certaine Castles in the Country of Maine, and Marches of Brittain, from divers Lords and Barons that had disobeyed him. And whilst he was busie abroad, Mathew sonne to the Earle of Flanders (who had married the Lady Mary Abbess of Ramsey, daughter to King Stephen, and had by her the Country of Bologne) attempted something on the Coast of England, either to try the affections of the people, or to make spoyle and boory, but without any effect at all, the King being too mighty for any such weake undertaker.

And to distend his power yet wider, falls out this occasion: *Canan* Earle of *Brittaine* dyes, and leaves one onely daughter (which he had by his wife *Constance* daughter to the King of *Scots*) to succcede him in his State. The King of *England* being then in Armes upon the Marches of *Brittaine*, deales with the Guardians of the young Lady to match her to his third sonne *Geffery*. The Nobilitie of that Country being then of a rough, and haughtie disposition (given to fewds and perpetuall quarrelling one with another) were wrought upon, and a side is wonne of such as could doe most in this businesse; which is effected to the great contentation of the King of *England*.

The Death of  
*Maude* the  
Empresse.

This fell out to be in the 13. yeare of his Reigne, wherein, as some write, dyed his mother *Maude* the Empresse, a Lady of an high and active Spirit: illustrious by her birth, but more by her first match, and most by her sonne, whom she lived to see established in all these mighty States, in the glory of Greatnesse and Peace: Fertile in issue, having now had foure sons and three daughters, linkes of love and strength (oftentimes in private families though seldome in Princes;) and she left him in the best time of his dayes before any great tempest overtooke him.

Three yeares after this he employes most in *France*, about the ordering and clearing the bounds of his Dominions from usurpation, or incroachments of neighbour Lords (whom his greatnesse held all in awe) and they must have no more than he would: especially he settles and reforms the State of *Brittaine*, which was very much out of order, and in mutiny about the late Match; which being somewhat appeased, he keepes a solemne Christmas at *Nants*, and Royally Feasts the Nobility of the Country.

1169.  
Anno  
Reg. 16

Then returnes he into *England*, where, left peace (by reason of his long and often absence) might afflict and corrupt his subjects, he looks to that divine, and almighty worke of Kings, the administration of Iustice, appointed certaine Commissioners as Syndics to examine the abuses and excesses committed by his Officers, and grievously punishes the Shriefes of the Land, for extortion and bribery.

His Easter, he keepes at *Windsor*, whither repayres unto him *William* King of *Scots* who lately succceeded *Malcom* his brother, and brings with him his younger brother *David*, both to congratulate the King of *Englands* returne, and also continue his claime to those peeces in the North, which he pretended to be unjustly detained from that Crowne. The King entertaines him, as he had done his brother with faire words, and tells him, *How it was not in his power to doe any thing therein, without the consent of the State in Parliament; which if he would attend, there should be that course taken, as he hoped might give him satisfaction.* In expectation whereof this King came often into *England*, and once attended the King in an expedition into *France*, as his Predecessor had done before.

The Pope  
writes to the  
Bishops of  
*England*.

But now all this while, the wrath of the Church continues, and the cloud hangs still over him, daily threatening the great thunder-bolt. Although it seemed the Pope of himselfe, was not very forward to proceede to that extremity, but would gladly have quieted the Arch-Bishop otherwise; Who (he sayd) had taken an ill time for this businesse, the King being mighty, and the Church in trouble; and therefore writes he his letters to the Bishops of *London* and *Hersford*, willing them to deale effectually with the King, and to admonish him to desist from intruding upon the liberties of the Church, and to restore the Arch-Bishop to his See and Dignity.

The Bishops  
answere to the  
Popes Letter.

The Bishops wisely answer the Popes Letter, in substance thus: *We have (sayd they) done your Holinesse Message, and as much as was decent for the Ma-*  
jesty



jestie of a King, instantly urged him to satisfy your desire, made by us: And if he had erred from the way of truth and Iustice, that he would not delay to returne thereunto; that he would not inhibit such as were desirous to visit the Church of Rome, binder appeales, oppresse Churches and Church-men, or suffer others so to doe: That he would call home our Father the Arch-Bishop, &c. and persist in the workes of Pietie; that he by whom Kings Reigne might preserve unto him his temporall Kingdome, and give him an eternall in Heaven: And that unlesse he would yeeld to your holy Admonitions, you, who had thitherto endured, could in patience forbear no longer. Besides, we added this of our selves, how it was to be feared, if he amended not his errors, his Kingdome would not long stand, nor yet prosper.

The King received your admonitions with many thanks, much temperance and modestie, and answers to every point. First, he protested that in no sort he averted his minde from your Holinesse, nor ever purposed so to doe, but so long as you shewed him fatherly Grace, he would love you as a Father; reverence and cherish the Church as his Mother. And humbly obey your sacred Decrees, saving his owne Dignity, and that of his Kingdome; and if of late he had not respected you with any reverence, the cause was that, having with all his affection, and all his power stood to you in your necessity, he was not answered worthily to his desarts upon his recourse to you by his Ambassadour, but in every petition had the repulse. And for hindring any which are willing to visit your Holinesse, he answers he will not, nor hath hitherto done.

But for Appeales, by the ancient custome of the Kingdome, He challenges that honour, and cumber to himselfe; that no Clergy man for any cruill cause shall goe out of the Land till he had tried, whether he may obtaine his right by his Royall Authority, and Iustice at home; which if he cannot, he may (without any hindrance) when he will, make his Appeale. Wherein, if any way he doth prejudice Your Honour, he offers, by the helpe of God to correct it, as it shall be ordered by the Councell of the whole Church of his Kingdome. And for the Emperour, though he knew him a Schismaticke, he never understood he was excommunicate. But if he be by us informed thereof, or hath entred unlawfull league with him, or any other, he promises likewise to redresse the same, by the sayd Ecclesiasticall Councell of his Kingdome. And for our Father, the Lord of Canterbury (sayd he) that he never expelled him out of his Kingdome, but as he went out of his owne accord, so also at his pleasure it was free for him to returne to his Church in peace: provided, that his Majestie might be satisfied concerning those complaints of his, and have him to observe his Royall Dignitie. And if it can be proved, that any Church, or Church-man, hath beene oppressed by the King, or any of his, hee is ready to make full satisfaction, as shall be thought fit by the whole Councell, of the Church of his Kingdome.

This (say they) we have received in answer from our Lord the King, and wish we could have had it fully according to your desire; but these things wee thought good to notify to your Highnesse, that your Discretion may perceive what is like to be the conclusion of this businesse. The King stands upon the justification of his owne cause, ready to obey the Councell and judgement of the Church of England. Whereupon we thought good to beseech your Highnesse, that you would moderate for a time, that zeale (which by the fire of the divine Spirit is worthily inkindled, to revenge any injurie done to the Church of God) and forbear to pronounce any sentence of interdiction, or that last judgement of Abscission, whereby innumerable Churches may be miserably subverted, and both the King and an infinite number of people with him, irrevocably (which God forbid) averted from your obedience.

Then

Then they tell him, *That better it were to have a member bad, than cut off: abscision brought desperation: A skilfull Chirurgeon might recover an infected part, and how it were fitter to employ some meanes to heale the Wound, than by cutting off, a most noble part of the Church of God, to bring more disturbance to the same that hath too much already: though the King were stiff, they ought not to despair of the grace of God; that a Kings stomack was then to be won, when he had won, and might not blush to yeeld, when he had overcome: Patience, and Meeknesse, must pacifie him, &c. And in conclusion, we speake foolishly (say they) but yet with all Charity: if it come to passe, that the Lord of Canterbury lose both his goods; And live besides in perpetuall exile; and England, (which God forbid) fall away from your obedience; were it not better to forbear for a time, than with such zeale of severity to foster up a party? what if persecution cannot separate many of us from you, yet will there not want knes to bow to Baal, and receive the Pall of Canterbury at the hands of an Idoll, without choyce of Religion or Iustice: neyther will there want supplies of our Chayres that will obey him with all devotion, and already many devoure these hopes; wishing that scandalls may come, and straight wayes be made crooked.*

Thus much out of their Letters, which are the best peeces of History in the world, and shew us more of the inside of affayres, than any relations else. And by this we truly see what barres kept these two mighty powers backe from their wills, and yet how loud they threaten, and both a feard of each other.

But the King of England stood safe enough, and was like to have his businesse runne in a strong and entire course, when by casting to make things safer than fast, hee layes open a way both to disjoynt his owne power, and imbroyle his people with division; which was by the association of his sonne Henry in the government, *an act without example in this Kingdome*, and strange that a Parliament, an assembly of the State, convoked for the same businesse, would in so wise times, consent to communicate the Crowne, and make the common-wealth a Monster with two heads. But it seemes, the strong desire of the King was such, for the love he bare his sonne, as he would not be denied in this motion, nor hold it a sufficient Security, to have twice before caused all the Kingdome to take an Oath of Fealty unto him, and to have designed, unlesse he were crowned King, as he was, with all usuall solemnities the 14. day of June, 1170. by Roger Arch-Bishop of Yorke, and had homage done unto him that day by the King of Scots, David his brother, and all the Nobilitie of England. But now with what reservations this was done, wee are not particularly informed: whether there was an equall participation of rule, or onely but of Title; and that the Father, notwithstanding this Act, was to have the especiall manage of the Government, and the Sonne, though a King, yet a sonne, with a limited power. Howsoever, this young King shewed shortly after, *That a Crowne was no State to be made over in trust*, and layd much grieve, and repentance, upon his Fathers forwardnesse.

What mooved the King with this precipitation (to be before hand with his Grave) may be deemed the jealousie hee had apprehended by his Mothers example, who for all the Oath of Fealty so often taken for succession, was yet put by it, through the working of the Clergy; and now considering in what termes he stood with them, and that although he had wonne some few Bishops unto him, was sure they loved him not, and what they might worke with the people, if himselfe should faile, made him over-doe his worke.

The King of France, understanding that his daughter was not Crowned with her husband (which by reason of her tender age was deferred) tooke it

ill,

Prince Henry  
crowned King

1170.

Anno

Reg. 10

ill, and threatens King Henry the Father with Warre, if it were not presently done; which causes him to make more haste backe againe into Normandy (leaving the young King in England) to satisfie or prevent this quarrelling Prince.

And whilst he remained there, meanes was made that the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, (who had beene now six yeares in exile) was brought to have conference with the King, by the mediation of the King of France, Theobald Earle of Bloys, and divers great Bishops; which the King of England was the more willing to accept, in regard he saw this breach with the Church might much prejudice his temporall busineses, whensoever they should breake out: And how the Arch-Bishop continually was working the Pope, and all the great Prelates of the Christian World against him: which, *How much such a party as swayed the Empire of Soules might doe in a time of zeale, against a Ruler of bodies*, was to be considered. And therefore descends he from the high of his will to his necessity, and they meete at Montmirall before the King of France, where the Arch-Bishop keeling at the feete of his Sovereigne Lord the King of England, sayd, *he would commit the whole cause in controversie to his Royall Order, Gods honour onely reserved.*

Becketts submission to the King.

The King (who had beene often used to that reservation) grew into some choller, and sayd to the King of France, and the rest, *Whatsoever displeaseth this man, he would have to be against Gods honour, and so by that shift, will challenge to himselfe all that belongs to me: But because, you shall not thinke me to goe about to resist Gods honour, and him, in what shall be fit, looke what the greatest and most holy of all his predecessors have done to the meaneest of mine, let him doe the same to me, and it shall suffice.* Which answer being, beyond expectation, so reasonable, turn'd the opinion of all the company to the Kings cause, in so much as the King of France, sayd to the Arch-Bishop, *Will you be greater than Saints? better than Saint Peter? what can you stand upon? I see it is your fault, if your peace be not made.* The Arch-Bishop replies to this effect: *that as the authority of Kings had their beginning by degrees, so had that of the Church, which being now by the providence of God, come to that estate it was, they were not to follow the example of any, that had beene saint or yeelding in their places. The Church had risen, and increased out of many violent oppressions, and they were now to hold what it had gotten. Our Fathers (sayd he) suffered all manner of afflictions, because they would not forsake the name of Christ, and shall I, to be reconciled to any mans favour living, derogate any thing from his honour?*

The Kings offer to Becket.

Becketts reply.

This haughty reply of a subject to so yeelding an offer of his Sovereigne, so much distasteth the hearers, as they held the maintenance of his cause, rather to proceede from obstinacy than zeale, and with that impression, the conference for that time, brake up. But after this, were many other meetings, and much debate about the businesse. And the King of France, (at whose charge lay the Arch-Bishop all this while) came to another conference with them, upon the Confines of Normandy: Where, the King of England took the Arch-Bishop apart, and had long speech with him; twice they alighted from their horses, twice remounted, and twice the King held the Arch-Bishops bridel, and so againe they part, prepared for an attonement, but not concluding any. In the end by mediation of the Arch-Bishop of Rouen, the matter is quietly ended before the Earle of Bloys, at Amboys. And thereupon Henry the Father, writes to Henry the sonne, being then in England, in this wise: *Know yee that Thomas Arch-Bishop of Canterbury hath made peace with me (to my will) and therefore I charge you, that he and all his have peace; and that you cause to be restored unto him, and to all such (as for him) went out of England, all their substances, in full*

The King and Becket accorded.



Becket re-  
turnes into  
England.

full and honorable manner, as they held it, three moneths before their going, &c. And thus by this letter we see, in which King the commaund lay.

The Arch-Bishop returning into England (not as one who had sought his peace; but inforced it) with larger power to his resolution than before, *Suspends by the Popes Bull, the Arch-Bishop of Yorke from all Episcopall Office, for crowning the young King within the Province of Canterbury, without his leave, and against the Popes Commandement; and without taking (according to the custome) the Cautonarie Oath, for conservation of the liberties of the Church.* He brought also letters to suspend in like manner, *The Bishops of London, Salisbury, Oxford, Chester, Rochester, Saint Asaph, and Landaffe, for doing service at the Coronation, and upholding the Kings cause against him.* And by these letters were they all to remaine suspended, till they had satisfied the Arch-Bishop in so much as he thought fit.

Thus to returne home, shewed that he had the better of the time, and came all unryed, which so terrified the Bishops that presently (having no other refuge) they repaire to the King in Normandy, and shewed him this Violent proceeding of the Arch-Bishop, *How since his returne he was growne so imperious as there was no living under him.* Wherewith the King was so much mooved, as he is sayd in extreame passion to have uttered these words; *In what a miserable State am I, that cannot be quiet, in mine owne Kingdome, for one onely Priest? Is there no man will ridde me of this trouble.* Whereupon (they report) foure Knights, Sir Hugh Morville, Sir William Tracy, Sir Richard Brittain, and Sir Raynold Fitz Vrs, (then attending upon the King, and getting his desire by his words) depart presently into England, to be the unfortunate executioners of the same: but by some it seemes rather, these foure Gentlemen were sent with Commission from the King to deale with the Arch-Bishop in another manner, *And first to wish him to take his Oath of Fealty to the young King: then to restore these Bishops to the execution of their function: and thirdly to beare himselfe with moderation in his place, whereby the Church might have comfort upon his returne, and the Kingdome quietnesse.*

The murdering  
of  
Becket.

But they finding the Arch-Bishop not answering their humour, but peremptory and untractable, without regarding their Masters message, grew into rage, and first from threatening force, fell to commit it, and that in an execrable manner: putting on their armour (to make the matter more hideous) they entred into the Church, whither the Arch-Bishop was withdrawne, the Monks a divine Service; and there calling him Traytor, and furiously reviling him, gave him many wounds, and at length strake out his braines, that with his blood be sprinkled the Altar. His behaviour in this act of death, his courage to take it: his passion in committing the cause of the Church, with his soule to God and his Saints: the place, the time, the manner and all aggravates the hatred of the deede, and makes compassion and opinion, to be on this side.

The Murderers  
miserable  
end.

The unfortunate Gentlemen (having effected this great great service, rifled the Arch-Bishops house, and after weighing the foulness of what they had committed, and doubtfull whether the King, though they had done him a great pleasure, would seeme so to acknowledge it) withdrew themselves into the North-parts; and from thence pursued, fled into severall Countries, where they all within foure yeares after (as is reported) dyed miserable Fugitives.

The King of  
France in-  
forms the  
Pope of Be-  
cket's misde-  
ed.

Soone ranne the rumor of this deed, with full mouth over all the Christian world, every pen that had passion, was presently set on Worke. The King of France (himselfe) informes the Pope of the whole manner; with aggra-

vation

vation of the foulneſſe thereof, and incites him to uſe the moſt exquisite puniſhment he could, *Townſheath Peters ſword; to revenge the death of the Martyr of Canterbury, whoſe blood cries out for all the Church, and whoſe divine glory was already revealed in miracles.*

*Theobald Earle of Bloys, a great and grave Prince (elder brother to King Stephen) ſends likewiſe his information to the Pope, and ſhewes him, how he was at the peace-making betwene the King of England and this bleſſed Martyr; and with what a chearefull countenance, with what willingneſſe the King confirmed the agreement, granting him power to uſe his authority as it ſhould pleaſe the Pope and him againſt thoſe Biſhops, which had contrary to the right and dignitie of the Church of Canterbury, preſumed to intrude the New King into the Royall throane. And this he would juſtifie by his Oath, or howſoever; and in this peace (ſaith he) the man of God doubting nothing, puts his necke under the ſword: this innocent Lambe the morrow upon Saint Innocents day, ſuffered Martyrdom: the juſt blood was ſhed, where the ſhot of our ſalvation, the blood of Chriſt is offered. And then, how Court dogs, the Kings familiars & domeſtickes, were his miniſters to execute this horrible act, concluding with an exhortation likewiſe of revenge.*

But William Arch-Biſhop of Sens comes with a more maine out-cry, as if he would wake the Pope, were he never ſo dead aſleepe; and tels him, *How he was appointed over Nations and Kingdomes, to bind their Kings in fetters, and their Nobles with manacles of Iron: that all power both in heaven and earth was given to his Apoſtleſhip: bids him looke how the Bore of the Wood had rooted up the Vineyard of the Lord of Saboth, &c. and all, in that moſt powerfull phraſe of holy writ. And after, having bitterly enveyed againſt the King, uſes theſe words: It imports you, O moſt milde keeper of the Walls of Ieruſalem, to revenge that which is paſt, and provide for the future. What place ſhall be ſafe, if the rage of tyrannie ſhall imbrew the Sancta Sanctorum with blood, and tear in peeces the Vice-gerents of Chriſt, the ſofter children of the Church, without puniſhment? Arme therefore all the Eccleſiaſticall power you may, &c.*

Such and ſo great was the uprore of the Church raiſed upon theſe motives, as notwithstanding the King of England, (then the greateſt Prince of all the Chriſtian world) employed the moſt eſpeciall men could be choſen in all his Dominions, for reputation, learning and judgement, to declare his innocencie to the Pope: to ſhow and proteſt that he was ſo far from willing ſuch a deepe to be done, as he was from doing it himſelfe, and how grievouſly he tooke the matter when hee heard thereof; yet ſo deepe was the impreſſion ſetled before hand, and his name made ſo odious at Rome, as not onely the Pope denyed Audience to his Ambaſſadors, but every Cardinall; and all other his Miniſters, refuſed to have any conference with them. Which, with the hard paſſage they had in going thither, by the many dangers and reſtraints they endured, and now the contempt they found there, did (as they ſignified to the King) much diſcourage them. Yet for all this, were there thoſe brave Spirits among them, (as great Princes have alwayes great Miniſters) that never gave over working to cleare their maiſters honour, by Apologies, Remonſtrances, and all whatſoever wit could deviſe, and dealt ſo, as they kept off the great confounding blow of the higheſt Censure, though it were every day threatned and expected. And having (by gravely urging the miſchiefs, might follow in the Church, if a King of ſo great a State and ſtomacke, ſhould be driven to take deſperate courſes) given ſome pauſe, and allay to the fiſt heate; they timed it out all that Spring, and a great part of the next Summer; when, although they could give the King no great ſecurity, yet they advertiſe him of hope. But the ſending of two Cardinalls *à Latere, Gratianus and Vivianus*

The Earle of Bloys informes likewiſe.

The Arch-biſhop of Sens writes to the Pope.

The King declares his innocency by Embaſſage to the Pope. Pope and Cardinalls denied audience, refuſed conference.

*Vivianus* downe into *Normandy*, did exceedingly vex him. For they were rough against him, and would have interdicted him, and his Dominions: but being forewarned of their coming and intention, he appeales to the presence of the Pope, and so put off that trouble. Returning out of *Normandy*, into *England*, he gives strict commandement, That no brieft-carrier of what condition or order soever, without giving good security for his behaviour to the King and Kingdome, be suffered to passe the Seas.

The conquest  
of Ireland.

Notwithstanding all the vexation the Church put this King into, hee left nothing undone that concerned the advancement of his affaires, but as if now the rather, to shew his power, and greatnesse, takes this time for an expedition into *Ireland* (having commaunded a Navie of foure hundred ships to be ready at *Milford Haven* for the transportation of Men, Victuals, and Armour) and sets forth in the beginning of *November*, an unseasonable time, both for those Seas, and the invasion of a Countrey, not well knowne. But the businesse (it seemes) was well prepared for him, having had an intention thereof, ever since the second yeare of his Reigne, in which Hee sent a Solemne Ambassage to Pope *Adrian the fourth*, to crave leave for the subduement of that Countrey, under pretence of reducing those rude people from their vicious fashions to the faith and way of truth. Which the Pope willingly granted, and returns the Ambassadors, with an autentically concession thereof in writing, to this effect. First, shewing how laudable a thing it was, and how fitting the magnificence of so mighty a King, to propagate his glorious name on earth, and heape up reward of eternall felicity in Heaven, by extending the bounds of the Church, reducing rude and unlettered people from their vicious manners, to the verity of the Christian faith and civility. And then gives him power to invade the same, and to execute what soever should be to the Honour of God, and good of the Countrey, with reservation of Church-rights, and Peterpence (a penny of every house yearly, which he had promised by his Ambassadors) and so concludes, with an exhortation to plant men of good and exemplar life in the Clergy, &c.

Dermot's com-  
plaint against  
O Connor to  
King Henry.

But the King at that time, having other occasions, left off the purpose of this, which comes now of late to be againe imbraced by this meanes: *Dermot Mac Murrgh* one of the five Kings which then ruled that Island, comes into *Aquitaine* to crave his ayde against *Rodericke the Great*, called *O Connor Dun*, King of *Connaught*, who contending for the Sovereignty of the whole, had chased him out of his Dominion of *Lemster*.

Dermot's of-  
fences.

The King of *England* (glad to finde a doore thus opened to his intention, that might yeeld passage of it selfe without being broken up, intertaynes this ejected King with promises of ayde; and though he could not as then furnish him, being engaged in other great affaires, hee yet permits such of his subjects as would, to adventure their Fortunes with him. But the occasion, of dissention, betweene these two Irish Kings was indeed foule on the part of *Dermot*, who had corrupted, and stolne away the wife of *Rodericke*, and for that odious injurie, with his injustice to his people, the common causes of ruining & transferring Kingdomes he was by strong hand chased out of his Dominion of *Lemster*; and thereupon makes out for *Forraine* ayde. And (having thus dealt with the King of *England*) hee betakes him into *Wales*, where first hee wrought one *Robert Fitz Stephen*, a man of a desperate Fortune (yet able to draw many voluntaries) to contract with him, and afterward *Richard* (of the House of *Clare*) surnamed *Strong-bow*, Earle of *Pembrooke*, commonly called (of his chiefe seate, in *Monmouth-shire*) Earle of *Ghepstrom*, or *Strigill*, a Lord of high courage and worthinesse, which made him well followed; and



and of great possessions both in *England* and *Normandy*, which gave him meanes for his entertainments. *Fitz Stephen* was perswaded by promise of rich rewards; the Earle of marriage with *Eva* the daughter of *Dermot*, and the succession of the kingdome of *Lemiter*.

*Fitz Stephen* with *Maurice Fitz Gerard*, his halfe brother by the mother, passed over first with a small company, and landed at the place called by the *Irish Bag-bun*, which in *English* signifies *Holy*, and therefore interpreted as presaging good successe, whereof his rime retaines yet the memory, *At the head of Bagge and Bun Ireland was lost and wonne*. And the next day after arrived at the same place, *Maurice de Prendergast*, with other men at *Armes*, and many Archers in two ships, parcell of *Fitz Stephens* forces, which from thence marched to the City of *Weishford* with Banners displayed, in so strange a forme and order (though their number were not foure hundred) as the *Irish* unacquainted with so unusuall a face of warre, were overcome with feare, and rendred up themselves to their mercy, with their City of *Weishford*, which with the Countrey about was given by *Dermot* to *Robert Fitz Stephen*, for an encouragement to him, and hope to others. And there was planted the first Colonie of the *English*, which ever since hath continued, retaining still in a sort our ancient attire, & much of our language, proper onely to that City and Countrey about, and called by a distinct name *Weishford speech*.

The next yeare are new supplies sent out of *Wales*, and after, upon intelligence of good successe, the Earle of *Pembrooke* arrives in the Bay of *Waterford* with two hundred men at *Armes*, and a thousand other souldiers, takes the Towne, which was then called *Porthlarge*, puts the inhabitants to the sword, (to give terror to others, and make roome for his owne people) and there *Dermot* gives him his daughter in marriage, with the dowry of his Countrey; which, after his wickednesse had done, hee lived not to see more yeares (having had too many by this) and dyes miserably, leaving the Stile of *Ningal* (which signifies *the strangers friend*, added to his name in memory of his unnaturall forsaking his owne Nation.

*Strong-bow*, after having secured the places gotten, marches with those small forces hee had over the Island without resistance. *Rodericke* the great (shewing himselfe but a litle Prince) kept in the *Wildes* and fastnesses of *Connaught*, and never came to appeare before the enemy; who passing through the countrey at his pleasure, takes what pledges he would of the inhabitants, to secure their obedience, and with as litle labour possesse himself of the City of *Dublin* the head of the Island.

Thus *Wales* got us first the Realme of *Ireland*, and (which is most strange) without stroke of battaile: a thing scarce credible, that a Countrey so populous, a Nation of that disposition should not lift up a hand to defend it selfe, having, it seemes, either neglected the use of armour, or else never beene acquainted with them (other than in a naked manner of domestick fight one with another) whereby, the terror of strange & never before seene forces in order of warre, laid them prostrate to the mercy of the Over-runner.

But the King of *England* advertised of the prosperous successe of these Adventurers and the estate of the countrey, grew in jealousy of them, thinking they presumed farther than their subjection would allow, and would make themselves that which they must be made by him, and take away the glory of the worke that should be onely his, causes proclamation to be made: *that no vessel should carry any thing out of his dominions into Ireland, and that all his subjects should returne from thence, and leave off their accustoms, otherwise to forfeit*

The Conquest  
of Ireland.

Triginta Mil-  
libus.

The begin-  
ning of May.

1170.  
Anno  
Reg. 16

1171.  
Anno  
Reg. 17

1172.  
Anno  
Reg. 18

The Irish kings  
submission.

Henrys refor-  
mation of Ire-  
land.

forfeit their Estates at home. And withall sends over William Fitz Adelmo, and Robert Fitz Bernard with some forces to prepare the way for him, who followed shortly after, & lands eight miles from Waterford the Eve of Saint Luke, Anno 1172, being the third year after the first Invasion made by Fitz Stephen.

At his first landing, a white Hart starting out of a Bush was taken, and presented to him, interpreted as a presage of a white Victory. The next day he marches to Waterford, where hee stayed fifteene dayes; and thither came to him of their owne accord, the Kings of Corke, Limrick, Oxery, Meth, and all of any power in Ireland (except Rodorick King of Connaught, who still kept himself in the fastnesse of his Countrey) & submitted themselves with all the Clergy, taking their Oath of fealty to him & the young King, & their successors for ever; so these divided Princes holding no common Councell for the publicke safety, rather than to joyn those hands that had so often scratched each other, fell all from themselves, & with the same emulation they had in liberty, strove for their servitude, who would be first to receive a forraigne Master.

From Waterford the King goes to Dublin, where he holds an Assembly of all these subject Kings, with the Lords Spirituall & Temporall of Ireland, for the further ratification of their allegiance, and the ordering and reformation of the State. Which done, he causes the Bishops with the Clergy there to assemble at Cassell, and appoints an especiall Chaplaine of his owne, with the Archdeacon of Landaffe to be Assistants & advisors unto them for reformation of Church busineses, which seemesto have beene as disordered as the people. For though the Irish had beene long before Christians, it was after a wilde and mixt fashion; and therefore, according to his promise made to the late Pope, and to doe a worke pleasing to the present, it was decreed, That all Church-lands should be free from exaction of secular men; and that from thenceforth, all divine things should be ordered and used in every part of Ireland according to the maner of the Church of England, being fit (as saith the Canon) that as Ireland hath by Gods mercy obtained a Lord & K. out of England, so from thence they should receive a better forme of life and manners, than heretofore they used.

His Christmasse he keepes at Dublin, where he royally feasts all Kings and great men of the Countrey; the rest of his being there he employes in fortifying and planting Garrisons where most need required: he makes Hugh Lacy Iustice of all Ireland, gives him the keeping of Dublin, and besides confirmed unto him and his heires by his Charter, the Countrey of Meth to hold the same in Fee, for the service of a hundreth Knights: he bestowes on Robert Fitz Bernard the keeping of the Townes of Waterford and Weisford (which he tooke from Fitz Stephen the first invador) with charge to build Castles in them; and to humble the Earle Strongbow, and levell him with the rest of his subjects, he takes from him all his dependants, and makes them his.

So was it but his winters worke to get a kingdome, which though thus easily won, it proved more difficult and costly in the keeping, by reason the prosecution of a full establishment thereof was neither by him nor his successors (having other divertments) ever thoroughly accomplished.

On Easter munday hee sets out for England, where he makes no stay, but takes the young King along in his company, and passes over into Normandy, to meeete other two Legates [Theodinus and Albertus] who were sent from Pope Alexander (but in milder fashion than the last) to examine the murder of the late Archbishop Becket. Foure moneths were spent in debating the matter, and in the end, the King by his Oath taken upon the Reliques of Saints, and the holy Evangelists, before the two Legates in the presence of

of King Henry the sonne, the Archbishop of Rowen, and all the Bishops, and Abbots of Normandy in the Citle of Auranches purged himselfe of either commanding or consenting to the murder. Yet for that he doubted lest they who committed the same might bee moved thereunto by seeing him disturbed, and in passion: hee tooke the same Oath, that in satisfaction thereof, hee would faithfully performe these Articles following: First, never to forsake Pope Alexander, nor his Catholick successors so long as they used him as a Catholick King. Secondly, that Appeals should freely be made to the Pope, in cases Ecclesiasticall. Provided, that if any were suspected to worke evill to him, or his kingdome, they should then put in security before they departed. Thirdly, that hee would (from Christmas next for three yeares to come) undertake the crosse, and the summer following, in person to goe to Ierusalem, unlesse he were slayd by the Pope or his successors, or employed against the Sarasins in Spaine. Fourthly, that in the meane time, he should deliver so much money into the Templars hands, as by their opinion would entertaine 200 souldiers in the holy Warre for one yeare. Fifthly, call home all such as had endured banishment for the Archbishop. Sixtly, restore his possessions. Seventhly and lastly, abolish all such customes as in his time had bene introduced to the prejudice of the Church. After himself had sworn, he caused King Henry his son to sweare to all these Articles, except such as concerned his owne person. And for a more memory in the Roman Church, he caused his Seale to be set unto them, with that of the two Cardinalls. So ended this tedious businesse, that made more noyse in the world than any hee had, and bowed him more: being his ill fortune to grapple with a man of that free resolution as made his sufferings, his glory: had his ambition, beyond this world, set up his rest, not to yeeld to a King, was onely ingaged to his cause, had opinion and beleefe to take his part; which so much prevailed, as the King seeking to master him, advanced him; and now is he faine to kneele and pray to his Shrine, whom hee had disgraced in his person; and having had him above his will whilst he lived, hath him now over his faith being dead. And yet forty eight yeares after this, saith the French History, it was disputed among the Doctors of Paris, whether hee were damned or saved: And one Roger a Norman maintained, hee had justly deserved death, for rebelling against his Sovereigne the Minister of God.

To make the better way to the ending of this businesse, & content the King of France, Henry the son is againe crowned, and with him Margaret his wife, with permission shortly after to goe visite Paris; where, this young King, apt enough (though not to know himselfe) yet to know his State, received those instructions as made his ambition quite turne off his obedience, and conceive, *How to be a King was to be a power above, and undeniable.*

And to further the birth of this apprehension, fell out this occasion, The Father ever awake to advance his greatnesse, takes a journey in person into Avergnia, and so to Monserrato, and there purchases a match for the price of five thousand Markes, for his youngest sonne John, with Alice the eldest daughter of Hurbert, Earle of Mauriena (then as it seemes) Lord of Piemont & Savoy; with condition to have with her the inheritance of all those Countries, containing many great Signories, Cities, and Castles, specified in Roger Hoveden, with all the circumstances and covenants, very remarkeable of the contract. So unto greatnesse (that easier increases than begins) is added more meanes, and every way opens to this active and powerfull King, advantages of State, in so much, as the King of France was even surrounded with the power and dependances of this mighty King of England, whose Fortunes

His purgation  
for Becket's  
murder.

Both Kings  
swear to these  
Articles.

Henry the son  
is againe crown-  
ed with Mar-  
garet his wife.



1173.

Anno  
Reg. 19The homage  
of Raymond  
Earle of Saint  
Gyles for the  
Earledome of  
Tholouse.Henry the son  
takes displea-  
sure against  
his father.

most of all the neighbour Princes ( which subsist by other, than their owne power ) now follow. And being returned from concluding this match in *Piemont*, there comes to him lying at *Limoges*, *Raymond* Earle of *Saint Gyles* ( by whom was given the first affront hee had in *France* ) now to doe homage unto him for the Earledome of *Tholouse*: And there became the man of the King of *England*, and of his sonne *Richard* Earle of *Poitou*, to hold *Tholouse* from them ( by hereditary right ) for service of coming unto them upon their summons, and remaining in their service forty dayes at his own charge: And if they would entertaine him longer, to allow him reasonable expences. Besides, the Earle should pay yearly for *Tholouse* and the appertinances, a hundred Markes of silver, or ten horses worth ten Markes a peece.

About the same time also came the Earle *Hubert* to *Limoges*: ( to know what Land the King of *England* would assure his sonne *John* ) who resolved to give unto him the Castles of *Chinon*, *Lodun* and *Mirabe*. Wherewith King *Henry* the sonne grew much displeased, and here moved his Father, either to resigne unto him the Dutchy of *Normandie*, the Earledome of *Aniou*, or the kingdome of *England* for his maintenance: in which motion, hee was the more eger being incensed by the King of *France*, and the discontented Lords, both of *England*, and *Normandy*, who were many, and false, or wrought from the Father upon new hopes, and the advantage of a devised Sovereignty.

And though there were many other occasions of this defection of the sonne, from the Father; yet, that this for these Castles should first be taken ( may seeme to be the worke of *GODS* speciall judgement ) being those peeces, which himselfe had taken from his owne naturall brother *Geffery*, contrary to his Oath made unto his Father, as is before related: so ( as if to tell injustice, that it must bee duely repayed ) the same Castles are made to bring mischief upon him, and to give a beginning to the foulest discord that could bee: Wherein hee had not onely the children of his owne body, but the wife of his owne bed to conspire and practise against him.

For, hereupon the sonne suddainly breaking away from the Father, came to *Paris*, where, the King of *France* ( who had no other meanes to prevent the over-growing of a neighbour but to divide him ) summons and solicites the Princes of *France*, and all the friends he could make, to ayde King *Henry* the sonne against the father, and to take their Oath, either to depose him of his Estate, or bring him to their own conditions. The young King likewise sweares unto them, never to have peace with his father without their consents, and all sweares to give unto *Philip* Earle of *Flanders* for his ayde, a thousand pounds English by the yeare, with the Countie of *Kent*, *Dover*, and *Rochester* Castles: To *Mathew* Earle of *Bologne* brother to the said Earle, for his service, *Kerton* Soak in *Lindsey*, the Earledome of *Morton* with the Honor of *Heize*: To *Theobald* Earle of *Blois*, two hundred pounds by yeare in *Aniou*: the Castle of *Ambois* with all the rights hee pretended in *Turcine*, &c. And all these Donations with divers others, hee confirmed by his new Seale, which the King of *France* caused to be made. Besides, by the same Seale, Hee confirmed to the King of *Scots* for his aide all *Northumberland* unto *Tyne*: and gave to the brother of the same King for his service, the Earledomes of *Huntingdon* and *Cambridge*: To the Earle *Hugh* Bigot the Castle of *Norwich*: other Earles of *England*, as *Robert* Earle of *Leicester*, *Hugh* Earle of *Chester*, *Roger* Mowbray, &c. had likewise their rewards and promises of the Lyons skin, that was yet alive.

Besides,

Besides, they draw into their party *Richard* and *Geffery*, whose youths (apt to be wrought on for the increafe of their allowance) are easily intised; and with them their mother irraged with jealousie, & disdain for her husbands conceived abused of her bed. So that this great King in the midst of his glory, about the twentieth yeare of his reigne, comes suddenly forsaken of his owne people, and is driven through distrust to hire, and entertaine strange forces; procuring twenty thousand *Brabansons* (which were certaine Mercenaries commonly called *Routs* or *Costerels*) for the recovery and holding of his Estate. And some few faithfull Ministers he had (notwithstanding this generall defection) who tooke firmly to him: as *William Earle Mandevile*, *Hugh de Lacy*, *Hugh de Beauchamp*, &c.

But howsoever we have seene the best of this Kings glory, and though hee had after this, good successes, he had never happinesse; labour he did by all meanes to have qualified the heate of his distempered sonne, by many meditations of peace; offering all convenient allowances for his Estate, but all would not prevaile: his sword is drawne, and with him the King of *France*, with all his forces enters upon his Territories on that side the Sea; on this the King of *Scots* seizes upon *Northumberland*, and makes great spoyle. The old King complains to the Emperour, and all the neighbour Princes his friends, of the unnaturall courses of his sonne, and of his owne improvident advancing him. *William* King of *Sicile* writes, and condoles his misfortunes, but lay too farre off to helpe him.

The King of *France* besieges *Vernoul*, a place of great strength and importance, which *Hugh de Lacy*, and *Hugh de Beauchamp* valiantly defended, and after a monthes siege, they of the Towne (vituals fayling) obtained truce of the king of *France*, and permission to send unto their Sovereigne for succour, which if it came not within three dayes, they would render the City, and in the meane time their hostages. The peremptorie day was the Eve of *Saint Lawrence*. The King of *France* with King *Henry* the sonne, and with divers great Lords and Bishops swore, if they rendred the Citie at the day appointed, their hostages should be re-delivered, and no damage done to the Citie.

King *Henry* the Father with all the forces hee could make, came just at the limited day, disposes his Army to strike Battaille with his enemies; but the King of *France* (to avoyde the same) sends the Archbishop of *Sens*, and the Earle of *Blois* to mediate a parle, which was appointed the morrow: this day lost, lost *Vernoul*. For, to the morrow-parle, the King of *France* neither comes, nor sends; but had entrance into the Towne (according to covenants) which contrary to his Oath, hee sacks, takes with him the hostages, and spoyle thereof, removes his Campe, and leaves the King of *England* disappointed; who that night, after having pursued the flying Army with some spoyle, enters into *Vernoul*, and the morrow surprises *Dauville* a Castle of his enemies, with many Prisoners. Thence he goes to *Rouen*, whence hee sent his *Brabansons* into *Brittaine* against *Hugh Earle of Chester*, and *Ralph Fulgiere*, who had posselt themselves almost of the whole Countrey; but being not able to resist the Kings forces in the Field, they with all the great men in those parts, and that side of *France*, recovered the Castles of *Dole*; where, they fortified and kept themselves, till King *Henry* the Father came in person, besieged and tooke it; and with them, about foure score Lords, men of name and action. Whereupon all the rest of the Countrey, yeelded themselves.

This overthrow being of such import, so terrified the Adversaries, as they

they negotiate a Peace, and a Parle is appointed betweene Gisors and Try, wherein the King of England, (though he had the better of the day) condescended to make offer to his sonne of halfe the revenues of the Crowne of England, with foure convenient Castles therein; or if he had rather remaine in Normandie, halfe the revenues thereof, and all the revenues of the Earledome of Anjou, &c. To his sonne Richard he offers halfe the revenues of Aquitaine, and foure Castles in the same. To Geffery, the Land that should come unto him by the daughter of the Earle Conon. Besides, he submitted himselfe to the arbitration of the Archbishop of Taranto, and the Popes Legates, to add any allowance more as in their judgments should be held fit, reserving unto himselfe his Justice & Royall power: which yeelding grants, shewed how much he desired this peace.

But it was not in the purpose of the King of France, that the same should take effect: for such perversnesse and indignity, was offered to King Henry in this Treaty, as Robert Earle of Leicester, is said to have reproached him to his face, and offered to draw his sword upon him; so that, they brake off in turbulent manner, & their troupes fell presently to bickering betweene Curteles, and Gisors, but the French had the worse.

The Earle of Leicester with an Army makes over into England, is received by Hugh Bigot into the Castle of Fremingham. Richard de Lucy Chiefe Justice of England, and Hamfrey Bohun the Kings Constable, being upon the borders of Scotland, hearing thereof, makes truce with the King of Scots. And haste to Saint Edmonsbury where the Earles of Cornwall, Gloucester, and Arundell joyne with them; they encounter the Earle of Leicester, at a place called Farnham, overthrew his Army, slew tennethousand Flemings; tooke him, his Wife, and divers great Prisoners, which were sent unto the King in Normandy, who, with his Army was not there idle, but daily got Castles, and Ports from his enemies, untill Winter constrained both Kings to take truce till Easter following; and the like did the Bishop of Duresme with the King of Scots, for which hee gave him three thousand Markes of silver, to bee payed out of the Lands of the Barons of Northumberland.

The Spring came on, and the truce expired: King Henry the Sonne, and Philip Earle of Flanders, are ready at Graveling, with a great Army for England. The King of Scots entered Northumberland, and sends his brother David with a power to succour the remnant of the forces of the Earle of Leicester, which held the Towne of Leicester, but without successe: for Richard Lucy, and the Earle of Cornwall had before razed the City, and taken Robert Mowbray, comming likewise to ayde those of the Castle.

King Henry the Father upon his sonnes preparation for England, drawes his forces from his other employments, and brings them downe to Burfleece, arrives at Southampton with his Prisoners, Queene Eleanor, Margarets the wife of his sonne Henry, the Earles of Leicester and Chester, and from thence goes to Canterbury to visit the Sepulchre of his owne Martyr, and performe his vowes for his victories. And they write how comming within sight of the Church, He alights, and went three miles in his bare feete, which with the hard stones were forced to yeeld bloody tokens of his devotion on the way. And as, if to recompence (the merit of the Worke) they note, How the very day when hee departed from Canterbury, the King of Scots to be overthrowne and taken at Alnwick, by the Forces of the Knights of Torkeshire, which are named to be, Robert de Stuteville, Odonel de Humfrante, William de Vesey, Ralph de Glanville, Ralph de Tilly, and Bernard Baliol.

Lewis King of France hearing of King Henrys passage into England, and the

1174.  
Anno  
Reg. 20

Henry the firsts arrivall in England.

King Henry visits Becket's Sepulchre.



the taking of the King of Scots, calls back Henry the sonne, and the Earle of Flanders from Graveling, where they stayed expecting the Wind, and besieged Roan on all sides saving that of the River. The whilst King Henry is quietting and settling the State of England, where he had first the Castle of Huntingdon rendred unto his mercy, saving the lives and members of the Defendants; then the Castles of Fremingham and Bungeie, which the Earle of Bigot held by force of Flemings, for whom the Earles submission could hardly obtaine pardon, but in the end they were sent home. From thence he goes to Northampton, where hee receives the King of Scots his prisoner, and the Castles of Duresme, Norham, and Aluerton rendred into his hands by the Bishop of Duresme; who, for all his service done in the North, stood not cleare in the Kings opinion. There came likewise thither Roger de Mowbray, yeelding up himselfe with his Castle of Treske: The Earle Fetters his Castle of Tursbury and Duffield: Anketill, Mallory, and William Dine Constables of the Earle of Leicester, the Castles of Leicester, Montforill and Groby; so that within three weekes all England was quietted, and all without drawing of sword, which in those manly dayes seemed onely reserved for the field.

The King of Scots his prisoner.

This done, and supplied with one thousand Welshmen: King Henry with his Prisoners, the King of Scots, the Earles of Leicester and Chester, passes over into Normandy, to the reliefe of Roan: where those thousand Welshmen sent over the River Siene, entred and made way through the Campe of the King of France, slew a hundred of his men, and recovered a Wood without any losse of theirs. After which exploit, the King of England (causing the Gates of the City to be set open, the Barracadoes taken away, the trenches they had made, betweene the French Campe and the City, to bee filled up againe, with rubbish and timber) marched forth with troupes, to provoke the enemy, but without any answer at all. In the end, the King of France, sends away the weakest of his people before, and followed after with the rest, upon sufferance of the King of England, by the mediation of the Archbishop of Sens, and the Earle of Blois, who undertooke that he should the next day come to a parle of peace, which he performed not.

King Henry favours the French Army.

But shortly after (seeing this action had so litle advantaged either him, or those for whom hee pretended to have undertaken it) hee imployes the former Agents againe to the King of England: and peace, with a reconciliation is concluded betweene him and his sonnes. But with more reservation on his part, than had beene by the former treaty offered, as having now more of power, and the advantage of Fortune; and yet yeelding so much, as shewed, *The goodnesse of his nature was not over-swayed with his ambition*; all his proceeding in this Warre witnessing, that necessity did over worke more than his will.

The King and his sonne reconciled as the Charter of Peace shewes. Roger Hues.

And at the signing of the Charter of this Peace, when his sonne Henry would have done him homage (which is personall service) he refused to take it, because he was a King, but received it of Richard and Giffary. Yet after this, Henry the sonne to free his Father of all scruple, became his Liege-man, and swore fealty unto him against all men, in the presence of the Archbishop of Rouen, the Bishop of Bayeux, the Earle Mandevile, and a great Nobility.

At the concluding of this same Peace, the Earle of Flanders yeelded up to King Henry the Father, the Charter made unto him by the sonne for the remuneration, and had another confirmed for the pension he had yearly out of England before this War, which was 1000 Markes out of the Exchequer, afterward granted upon condition of homage, and for finding the King of England

England yearly five hundred souldiers for the space of forty dayes upon summons given.

This same businesse ended, the Father and the Sonne makes their Progresses into all their Provinces on that side, to visite and reforme the disorders of Warre, and to settle their affaires there. *Richard* is sent into *Aquitaine*, and *Gefferie* into *Brittaine* upon the same businesse, and there left with their Counsels to looke to their owne.

1175.

Anno

Reg. 21.

All Vacancies  
supplied by the  
King.

The two Kings, Father and Sonne, shortly after returne into *England*, where reformation in the Government needed as much as in *France*; and here had the Archbishop of *Canterbury* summoned a Councell of the Clergie, wherein were many enormities of the Church reformed, as may be seene in the Canons of that Synod. The King supplies all vacancies, and gives to *John de Oxenford* (that great Minister of his) the Bishoprick of *Norwich*: Then takes hee into his hands all the Castles hee could seise upon; amongst other the Towre of *Bristol*, which was rendered by the Earle of *Glocester*, and was never in his hands before. He takes penalties both of Clerkes and Lay-men, who had trespassed his forrests in time of hostilitie: for which he is taxed of wrong. *Richard Lucy* Iustice of *England*, having warrant by the Kings precept to discharge them for the same. But the profit which they yeelded him, made him take the strieter regard therein. For after the death of *Alaine de Noule* which had beene chiefe Iustice of all the Forrests of *England*, hee divides them into divers parts, appointing to every part foure Iustices, whereof two to be Clerkes, and two Knights, and two Servants of his Household to be keepers of the Game over all other Forresters, either of the Kings, Knights, or Barons whatsoever, and gave them power to implea, according to the Abuse of the Forrest.

1176.

Anno

Reg. 22

The King being at *Torke*, there came unto him *William* King of *Scots*, with almost all the Bishops, Abbots, and Nobility of *Scotland*, and confirmed the peace and finall concord which had formerly beene in the time of his imprisonment at *Faleise* in *Normandy*, before all the greatest Estates of both Kingdomes; the Tenor whereof is to be seene in *Roger Houeden*.

After this, a Councell is called at *Windsor*, whither repaire certaine Bishops of *Ireland*, and the Chancelour of *Rodoric* King of *Connaught*, for whom a finall concord is concluded, upon doing Homage, Fealty, and a Tribute to be paid, which was, Of every ten Beasts, one sufficient Hide, within his Kingdome, and those Provinces that held thereof.

Within a while after, a Council or Parliament is assembled at *Nottingham*, & by advise & consent thereof, the K. caused the kingdome to be divided into six parts, and constitutes for every part three Iustices itinerants, causing them to take an Oath upon the holy Evangelists faithfully for themselves to observe, and cause inviolably to be observed of all his Subjects of *England* the Assises made at *Claringdone*, and renewed at *Northampton*, which Assises were chiefly for Murder, Theft, Robbery, and their receivers: for deceits, and burning of houses, which facts if found by the verdict of twelve men, the accused were to passe the tryall of water Ordeil, whereby if not acquitted, their punishment was losse of a legge, or Banishment; that Age seemed to hold it a greater example of a Malefactor miserably living, than of one dead, for as yet they came not so farre as blood in those cases.

And yet wee finde in the Reigne of this King, that one *Gilbert Plumton* Knight, accused for a Rape before *Ranulph de Glanville*, Chiefe Iustice of *England* (desirous (saith *Houeden*) by unjust sentence to condemne him) was adjudged to be hanged on a Gybbet; whereunto, when he was brought, and

The kingdome  
divided into  
six parts for  
Iustice.

in

in the hands of the Executioner, the people ranne out crying, *that an innocent and just person ought not so to suffer.* Baldwin Bishop of Worcester, a religious man and fearing God, hearing the clamor of the people, and the injury done to this miserable Creature, came forth and forbade them, *from the part of Omnipotent God, and under paine of Excommunication, that they should not put him to death that day being holy, and the Feast of Saint Mary Magdalen;* whereupon the execution was put off till the morrow. That night meanes was wrought to the King, who commanded a *stay to be made till other order were taken,* being informed that for the envy which Glanville bare to this Plumpton, hee was desirous to put him to death, in regard he had married the daughter of Roger Gulwastan in heritrix, whom he would have had Reiner his Shrieve of *Torkeshire* to have had; which act leaves a foule stain of injustice upon the memory of this Chiefe justice Glanville, in the time of whose Office, a tract of the Lawes, and Customes of the Kingdome of England was composed, which now passeth under his name.

The charge given for busineses in these Assises consisted but of very few points besides those felonies; and was especially for taking homage, and ligeancie of all the Subjects of England: *Demolishing of Castles; the Rights of the King, his Crowne and Exchequer.* The multitude of actions which followed in succeeding times, grew out of new transgressions, and the increase of Law and Litigation, which was then but in the Cradle.

William King of Sicile sends and craves to have *Joan* the Kings Daughter in marriage. Whereupon the King calls a Parliament, and by the universall Councell of the kingdome; granted his daughter to the king of Sicile; to whom shee was shortly after sent, and there honourably indowed with many Cities and Castles, as may appeare by the Charter of that King.

But the great Match that was provided for Earle John became frustrate by the death of Alice, daughter to the Earle of Mauriana, & he is married to the daughter of William Earle of Gloucester, by whom he was to have that Earldome. This William was sonne to Robert, brother to Maude the Emperesse.

The same yeare also hee marries Elionor, another of his Daughters to Alphonso king of Castile, and takes up the controversie betweene him and his Vncle Sancho King of Navarre, about the detention of certaine bordering peeces of eath others kingdome, both the Kings having referred the businesse to his arbitration.

Likewise the Marriage which should have beene betweene his sonne Richard and Alice daughter to the French King, (committed heretofore to his custody, and government) was again treated on, and urged hard by the Popes Legate to bee consummated upon paine of interdiction. But yet it was put off for that time, and both Kings notwithstanding concluded a perpetuall league and amity to ayde each other against all men, and to be enemies to each others enemies. Besides, they both vowed an expedition to the holy Land in person, which they lived not to performe.

The King of France upon a dangerous sicknesse of his sonne Philip, voveth a Visitation of the Sepulchre of Thomas the Martyr of Canterbury: And upon licence and safe conduct of the King of England, performes the same with great devotion, and rich presents: First, offering upon his Tombe a masse cup of Gold, and after, gave and confirmed by his Charter three thousand six hundred Sextaries of Wine for the Monkes, annually to be received at Paris, at the charge of the King of France; and besides, freed them from all Tolls and Customs, for whatsoever they should buy in his kingdome.

After having stayed there three dayes, hee returnes towards France, conducted

1177

Anno  
Reg. 23.

William King  
of Sicile mar-  
ries with Joan  
the Kings  
daughter.  
Reg. howed.

1178

Anno  
Reg. 24

A Sextary is  
eight English  
quarts, and 36  
Sextaries is a  
Modius of  
Wine. Bud.



1179

Anno

Reg. 25.

1180.

Anno

Reg. 26

ducted by the King of England to Dover. The Sonne recovers health, but the Father lost his in this journey; for, comming to Saint Denis, he was taken with a palfie, and lived not long after. The weaknesse of his age and disease moved him presently to have his sonne Philip (being but fifteene yeares of age) to be crowned King in his life time, which was done at Reims, Anna 1179.

Henry Duke of Saxony (who had married Maude daughter to King Henry) was expelled his Dutchy, and banished by the Emperour Frederick the third, for seven yeares; for detaining the revenues which the Archbishop of Cologne had out of Saxony; and refusing to come unto triall at the Imperiall Chamber, according to his Faith and promise made to the Emperour. So that hee was driven to come (for succour with his wife and children) to his father-in-law into England. Where he remained three yeares, and upon the comming of the Archbishop of Cologne to visite the sepulchre of Thomas of Canterbury, meanes was wrought to restore him to his Dutchy: and a motion is made of marriage for Richard the Kings son, with the daughter of the Emperour Frederick (notwithstanding the contract made with Alice daughter to the King of France long before) but the last intention was made frustrate, by the death of the Emperours Daughter.

King Henry sends his sonne John to reside in Ireland, to the end (that the Majesty of a Court, & the number of the attendants which the same would draw thither) might both awe, and civilize that Countrey: But hee being accompanied with many Gallants young as himselfe, who scorning and deriding the Irish (in regard of their rude habits and fashions) wrought an ill effect. For it turned out three of their greatest Kings [Limmerick, Conaht, & Corke] into open act of rebellion; *Gens enim hac, sicut & natio quavis barbari, quanquam honorem nesciant, honorari tamen supra modum affectant*, saith Giraldus Cambrensis.

Now this faire time of peace which King Henry enjoyed, gave him leisure to seeke out all meanes to supply his Coffers, wherein he was very vigilant: And hearing of the great summes (which Roger Archbishop of Yorke, had given by his Testament to godly uses) sends Commissioners to finde out, and to seise the same to his owne uses, alledging, *That the Archbishop had given Iudgement in his life time, that it was against Law, any Ecclesiasticall person should dispose any thing by will (unlesse before he were sick) and that himselfe had done contrary to his owne decree.* The Commissioners having found out, that Hugh Bishop of Durham had received of the Archbishop three hundred Markes of silver to be bestowed in those uses, demand the same for the King. The Bishop replies, *That having received it from the hands of the Archbishop, hee had according to his will distributed the same amongst the leproous, blinde, and lame; in repairing Churches, Bridges and Hospitalls: So that who would have it, must gather it up againe of them.* Which answer so displeased the King, as (besides the seizing upon the Castle of Duresme) he wrought this Bishop much vexation.

His meanes certaine (besides the revenue of his Demefne, and the benefit of the Forrests) were not then great in England; which caused him oftentimes in his necessities to bee bold with the Church, and to hold their Benefices vacant; as hee did the Bishoprick of Lincoln eightene yeares. Hee made a new Coyne in England, which was round, decayed the old, and put all the Coyners to great ransome for corrupting the old money. And besides, to save his purse (in regard every continuall charge of Horfe and Armour was heavy unto him) hee caused every mans Lands

The King sends after monies given to pious uses by Testators of the Clergy.

The vacancy of Lincoln held 19 yeares to the Kings use.

and

and substance to bee rated for the furnishing thereof. And first began the same in his Dominions beyond the Seas, ordaining, That whosoever had a hundred pounds Anisian money in goods and chattell, should finde a Horse, and all Military furniture therunto; and whosoever had in chattell forty, thirty, or twenty pounds Anisian money, should finde a Corset, Head-piece, Lance and Sword; or Bow and Arrows, with a strict prohibition, That no man should sell or pawning his Armour, but bee bound to leave it when he dyed to his next heire. And this Order afterward hee established in England; by consent of the State. The King of France and the Earle of Flanders by his example did the like in their Countries.

Great and manifold were the expences of this mighty King, in respect of his entertainments, pensions, and rewards, having so wide an Estate, and so many ever in his worke, both of his owne and others, who must alwayes be fed: And besides, oftentimes hee is faine to bribe the Popes Legates in his businesse with the King of France, to have them favourable for his ends: to send many supplies, by their perswasions, and for his owne reputation, to the holy Warre.

Anno 1182 (saith Walsingham) he releevd the necessity of the Ierosolimitans with two and forty thousand Markes of silver, and five hundred Markes of gold, which was in money seven and forty thousand, three hundred, thirty three pounds, sixe shilling eight pence. And when Pope Lucius distressed by the Romans, desired an ayde out of England, the King sent him a mighty summe of Gold and Silver; in leavying whereof, the Clergie here dealt very circumspectly, for when the Popes Nuncios came to desire the same, they advised the King; that according to his will and honour he himselfe should supply the Popes occasion, as well for himselfe, as them: for that it was more tollerable, that their Lord and King should receive from them the returne of that ayde, than that the Popes Nuncios should, which might be taken for a custome to the detriment of the kingdome.

Now (about eight yeares) had the peace continued betweene the two Kings, Father and the Sonne, when againe new flames of unnaturall discord began to breake out; the occasion whereof as farre as can be discovered (in the uncertaine passages of that time) we finde to be this.

Anno Reg. 29. After a great Christmas kepe at Caen in Normandy, with his Sonnes Henry, Richard, and Geffrey, the Duke of Saxony with his wife and children, besides a great Nobility of all parts: The King willed King Henry his sonne, to take the homages of his brother Richard Earle of Poitou, and Geffrey Earle of Brittain. Richard refuses to doe it (but upon perswasion) being afterwards content; his brother refuses to take the same. Whereupon with great indignation Richard departs from his Fathers Court in Poitou; Mans and furnishes his Castles there. The King his brother follows by instigation of the Barons of Poitou and Aquitaine, who were faine from Richard, and adhered to the young King (as men that understood what would become of younger brothers estates in such dominions, where the elder brothers birth-right and power, would carry all) and Geffrey Earle of Brittain takes the King his brothers part, comes with forces to ayde him.

Richard sends for succour to his Father, who with a powerfull Army (rather to constrain them to a peace, than to make warre) came downe into Poitou, where againe his three sons after the debatement of their grivances swore to obey and serve their Father, and to hold perpetuall peace among themselves. And for the farther ratification of this Concord, they met

1181.  
Anno  
Reg. 17

1182.  
Anno  
Reg. 28

Henry 2. releevd Pope Lucius and the Ierosolimitans with great sums of gold and silver.

1183  
Anno  
Reg. 29

Great festivals often-times break up with great discontentments.

Henry and his sonnes accorded.

Henry and his  
sonnes accord-  
ed.

at *Mirabel*, where *Henry* the Sonne desires, that the Barons of *Poitou* and *Aquitaine* (whom hee had sworne to defend against his brother *Richard*) might be there at the concluding this peace, and to be pardoned for any former act committed. Which request is granted, and *Geffery* Earle of *Bristaine* sent to bring the Barons thither. But the Barons (holding this peace, either not safe, or not profitable) so worke, as they win the messenger to take their part against the Father, and keepe him with them.

*Henry* the sonne notwithstanding continues to mediate still for the Barons, and to get his Father, and Brother *Richard* to receive them into grace. And undertaking to bring in both them, and his brother *Geffery*, is permitted by the Father to goe treat with them at *Limoges*, whuber also, by another way, and with small company, it was agreed the Father should come, which hee did; but his approach was met with arrowes so dangerously shot at his person, as the next man to him was slaine, and himselfe with his sonne *Richard* forced to retire from the place. And yet afterwards, desirous out of a fatherly affection to have conference with his sonnes for the quiet ending of this businesse, (upon their assurance of his safety) he enters into the City: When againe from the Castle is shot a barbed arrow, which had tooke him directly on the brest, had not his horse by the suddaine lifting up his head, received it in the forehead. Which act his sonnes never sought to finde out and punish, but still under-hand held amity with the Barons. At length, notwithstanding King *Henry* the Sonne comes to the Father and protests, that unlesse the Barons would come and yeeld themselves at the Kings secte, hee would utterly renounce them: And after, having againe (upon his Fathers promise of pardon and peace) dealt with them: and finding (as he avowed) their obstinacie, made shew to forsake their party, and returnes to his Father with great submission, delivering up unto him his Horse and Armour in assurance thereof.

The incon-  
stancie of king  
*Henry* the son.

His Vow.

But many dayes he spent not with him, when againe (either for the intended revenge hee found his Father meant to prosecute against the Barons) whose protection having undertaken, hee held himselfe in his honour, engaged to preserve: or by the working of some mutinous Ministers about him, whose element was not peace: hee againe enters Oath and League with them. But therein finding his power short of his will, and desperate of all successe in his courses, hee suddainly breakes out into an extreame passion before his Father, falls prostrate at the Shrine of Saint *Martial*, and vowes presently to take upon him the crosse, and to give over all worldly businesse beside.

His resolution.

With which strange and suddaine passion, the Father much moved, besought his sonne with teares to alter that rash resolution, and to tell him truly, whether indignation or religion induced him thereunto. The sonne protests, that it was meereely for the remission of his sinnes, committed against his person. And unles his Father would now give him leave (without which he could not goe) he would there instantly kill himselfe in his presence. The Father (after having used all meanes to dissuade him; and finding him still obstinate) said unto him, *Sonne, Gods will be done; and yours, for your furnishing, I will take such order as shall best your Estate.*

His request for  
the Baron of  
*Aquitaine*.

The Son (whilst the Fathers passion had made him tender) wrought thereupon, and besought him, that he would deale mercifully with those of the Castles of *Limoges*, the Barons of *Aquitaine* and pardon them. To which, the Father in the end (though unwillingly) yeelds, so that, they would put in their pledges for securing their fidelity, and the peace; which they seemed con-

tent



tent to do. But upon the delivery, and receiving of these pledges, new ryots were committed, by such as could not endure the peace (which is never faithfull, but where men are voluntarily pacified :) and these young Princes againe take part with their confederates, and are made the heads of rebellion, committing rapine, and sacriledge to supply their necessities, and feede their followers. And in the end, the young King having much strugled in vaine, through griefe and vexation of spirit (which caused the distemperature of body) fell into a burning fever with the fluxe, whereof, within few dayes he dyed. A Prince of excellent parts, who was first cast away by his Fathers indulgence, and after by his rigor; not suffering him to be what himselfe had made him; neither got he so much by his Coronation, as to have a name in the Catalogue of the Kings of England.

The sorrow of the Father (although it be sayd to bee great) hindred not his revenge upon the Barons of *Aquitaine*; whom he now most eagerly persecuted, leazed on their Castles, and razed to the ground that of *Lymoges*.

*Geffery* upon his submission, is received into grace, and the yeare after dyed at *Paris*: having (in a conflict) bene troden under horses feete, and miserably crushed: so that halfe the male issue wherein this King was unfortunate, he saw extinct before him, and that by deaths as violent, as were their dispositions. The other two, who survived him, were no lesse miserable in their ends.

Now the young King of *France*, *Phillip* the second (in whose fate it was, to doe more than ever his Father could effect, upon the death of *Henry* the sonne) requires the delivery of the Country of *Vexlin*, which was given in dowre with his Sister *Margaret*; but the King of *England*, (not apt to let goe any thing of what he had in possession) was content to pay yearly to the Queene Dowager, 17050. pounds *Annonin*. And the more to hold faire with this young King, whose spirit, he saw, grew great and active, and with whom he was like to have much to doe, did homage unto him, for all he held in *France*, which he never did to the Father, being the first descent of Majesty, he ever made to any secular power. And beside, tooke his part against *Phillip* Earle of *Flanders*; who opposed against him, and was in those dayes a Prince of mighty power, and had ever stood fast unto King *Lewis* the Father. But now *Phillip* the sonne otherwise led, or affectioned, quarrels with him, and demaunds the Country of *Vermendois*, as appertayning to the Crowne of *France*: and withall, upon allegation of consanguinity repudiates his wife, Neece to this Earle of *Flanders*, given unto him by his Fathers choyce a little before his death. The Earle followed by *Odo* Earle of *Burgogne*, the Earles of *Champaigne*, *Hainalt*, *Namur*, *Saint Pol*, and others, warres upon the King of *France*, and commits great spoyle within his territories, so that hee was faine in the end to compound with him to his disadvantage. After this, the Kings of *England* and *France*, meete betweene *Gisors* and *Try*; where the King of *England* sweares to deliver *Alice*, unto *Richard* his sonne. And the King of *France* her brother grants her in Dowery, the Countrey of *Vexlin*, which *Margaret* his other Sister had before.

But these tyes held them not long together, for the young King of *France* so wrought with *Richard*, as he drew him from his Fathers obedience, and they lived together in that unity, as one bed and boord is sayd to have served them: both which so enjealoused the old King, as he called home his son, and before his Bishops and Nobility, caused him to sweare upon the Evangelists, to observe fealty unto him, against all persons whatsoever, which ha-

His Death.

Earle Gefferys submission and death.

1184.  
Anno  
Reg. 30.

Henry the second doth homage to Phillip king of France.

The Earle of Flanders compels the King of France, to compound.

1185.  
Anno  
Reg. 31.

The Kings of  
England and  
France accord-  
ed, and pre-  
pare for the  
holy Warre.

ving done, and ready to passe over into *England*, he is informed of the great preparation made by the King of *France*, who gave out, that he would spoyle and ransacke both *Normandy*, and the rest of the King of *Englands* territories in *France*; unlesse he would presently deliver up his sister *Alice* unto *Richard*, or render *Gisors*, and the Country of *Vexlin* into his hands. Whereupon the King returnes backe, and comes againe to a parle betweene *Gisors* and *Try*. Where the Archbishop of *Try* (sent from the Earle to call up ayde for the holy Warre) did with that power of perswasion so urge his message, as it let out all the humour of private rancor and contention, betweene these two great Kings, altered their whole Counsells, their pretensions, their designs: turned them wholly to undertake in person this labourious action, and resolve to leave their Kingdomes, their pleasures, and all the things of glory they had at home, to prosecute the same, through all the distemperatures of climes, and difficulties of passages, whereunto that voyage was obnoxious: so that now, no other thing was thought or talked on, but onely preparations, and furnishments for this businesse.

And to distinguish their people, and followers (who all strove which should be most forward) it was ordered that they who followed the King of *England*, should weare a white Crosse: *France* a red, and *Flanders* a greene. And for a further ingagement in the businesse, the King of *England* writes to the Patriarch of *Antioch*, a most comfortable and pious Letter; in the end whereof he hath these whrds, *Amongst other Princes, I and my sonne, rejecting the glory of this World, and despising all the pleasures thereof, in proper person, will, God willing, visit you shortly.*

Then to raise mony to defray this great enterprize, it was ordayned by the two Kings, their Archbishops, Bishops, Earles, and other in *France*, that all whosoever, as well Clerke as Lay (saving such as went the Voyage) should pay the tenth of all their revenues of that yeare, and the tenth of all their Mooveables and Chattles; as well in gold as silver. And many excellent orders were made for restraint of licentiousnesse both in apparrell, and manners, as was fitting for the undertakers of so civill and devout an action.

The King of *England* having layd this imposition upon all his Dominions in *France*, comes over, calls a Councell of his Bishops, Abbots, Earles, Barons, both of the Clergy, and Laiety at *Gaynington*, and by their consents imposes the same taxation upon his Subjects of *England*: *Sub Electuosisatitula vitium rapacitatis includens*, saith *Walsingham*, and presently sends forth his Officers into every Shiere, to Collect the same according as it was done in *France*. But of every City in *England*, he caused a choyce to be made of the richest men: as in *London* of two hundred, in *Yorke* a hundred, and so according to the proportion of the rest; and caused all these, at a certaine time and place to appeare before him; of whom hee tooke the tenth of all their Mooveables, by the estimation of credible men which knew their estates: such as refused he imprisoned till they had payd it, of which example and exaction, wee must onely hold *Pietie* guilty: otherwise those times had not yeelded it.

The King sends likewise *Hugh* Bishop of *Duresme*, with other Commissioners, to *William* King of *Scots* to collect the tenths in his Country, which he would not permit, but offered to give the King of *England* five thousand Markes of silver for those tenths, and the Castle which he claymed, but the King of *England* refused the same.

Whilst these preparations were in hand, and the mony collecting, a quarrell arises betweene *Richard* Earle of *Poitou*, and *Raymond* Earle of *Tholouse*, upon

1186.  
Anno  
Reg. 33.

Provision by  
King Henry in  
England.

1187.  
Anno  
Reg. 33

upon this occasion the Earle of *Tholouse* by the perswasion of one *Peter Shil- lar*, had taken certaine Merchants of *Aquitaine*, and used them hardly. The Earle of *Portou* surprizes this *Peter*, imprisons him, and would not suffer the Earle of *Tholouse* to redeeme him, upon any condition. Whereupon the Earle imprisons two Gentlemen, servants of the King of *England*, *Robert* and *Ralph Poer*, travelling through his Country (as Pilgrims) from *Saint Iames de Compostella*; which Earle *Richard* tooke so ill, as he enters into the Earles Country with an Army (prepared for a better ac) waists it with fire & sword, besieges and takes his Castles about *Tholouse*. The King of *France* upon the lamentable complaint of the *Tholousans* sends to the King of *England* to understand, whether his sonne *Richard* did these things by his will and Counsell. The King of *England* answers, *That he neither willed nor counselled him thereunto, and that his sonne sent him word (by the Archbishop of Dublin) that he did nothing, but by the consent of the King of France.* Who (not satisfied with this answer) enters presently into *Bery* with his Army, seizes upon the Country; takes in divers Castles of the King of *England*, who makes himselfe ready to recover the same. And thus that great intended enterprize, undertaken with such fervour, became dashed and overthrowne, at the very time they appointed to have set forward.

All the meanes the Pope could use by his Legats, nor all the perswasions of other Princes might prevaile to reconcile these two enraged Kings, though divers interviewes were procured, divers overtures propounded, yet none tooke effect; they ever depart more incensed than they met: in so much as at length, the King of *France*, in a rage, cut downe the great Elme (betweene *Gisors* and *Try*) under which, the Kings of *France*, and Dukes of *Normandy* were ever used to parle, and swore, *There should be no more meetings in that place.* But yet after this they were brought to another parle elsewhere, and therein the Popes Legat threatened to interdict the King of *France*, unlesse he made peace with the King of *England*. The King of *France* told him, that he feared not his sentence, being grounded upon no equity, and that it appertained not to the Church of *Rome*, by sentence, or otherwise, to chastise the Kingdome, or King of *France*, undertaking to revenge the demerits of the rebellious, that dishonoured his Crowne; and finally told the Cardinal, *That he smelled of the Sterlings of England.*

This interview, wrought a worse effect than all the rest: for here the King of *England* (absolutely) refuses to render *Alicia* to his sonne *Richard*, but offered to the King of *France*, to give her to his sonne *John*, with larger conditions, than should be granted with the other: which so much alienated the heart of his sonne *Richard*, as he becomes wholly Liege man to the King of *France*, did homage unto him for *Aquitaine*, and they both joyne their forces against the Father.

And here now comes this mighty King of *England* (the greatest of all the Christian World in his time, or that the kingdome ever saw, to fall quite a sunder; forsaken both of his subjects, and himselfe letting downe his heart, to yeeld to any conditions whatsoever: he who never saw feare (but in the backe of his enemies) leaves now the defence of *Mans*, and flies away with seven hundred men (having promised the City, never to give it over, in regard his father was there buried, and himselfe borne) and afterward comes to this last Parle with the King of *France*, betweene *Turnin* and *Mans*: where at their first meeting (no man suspecting the wrath) a thunder-bolt with so terrible a cracke lighted just betweene them, as it parted their conference in a confused manner for that time.

1187.  
*Anno*  
*Reg 33*

A meane  
quarrel doth  
and divers  
the great pre-  
paration for  
the holy War,  
and layes it  
upon the selfe  
kingdomes.

1188.  
*Anno*  
*Reg 34*

The King of  
*France* cuts  
downe the  
most eminent  
Elme of  
Princely  
Parley.

Earle *Richard*  
(with the  
King of  
*France*) com-  
bines against  
his Father  
King *Henry*.



1180.  
Anno  
Reg. 35

Within a while after, they came together againe, when suddainly began as fearefull a thunder as the former, which so amazed the King of England (as he had falne off from his Horse) had he not beene supported by those about him. And in this sort, beganne the Proem of that Treaty, wherein, the King of England yeelds to whatsoever conditions, the King of France required, did him homage againe for all his dominions on that side (both Kings naying at the beginning of this Warre, renounced their mutuall obligation in that kinde) tenders up *A lice* for whom he had beene so much loden with scandall and turmoyle, upon condition, she should be given in marriage to his sonne *Richard* at his returne from the holy Warre; and in the meane time to remaine in the custody of any one of five whom *Richard* should nominate: grants that fealty be given unto him of all his Dominions, and pardons all his partakers. Besides, covenants to pay the King of France 20000. markes of silver for dammage done during these last Warres. And that if he should not performe these Articles, his Barons should sweare to renounce him, and betake them to the part of the King of France, and Earle *Richard*. And for more caution, hee yeelds to deliver up the Cities of *Mans* and *Tureyne*, with divers Castles into their hands, &c.

His Death.

And here was an end of this businesse; and within three dayes after, of this Kings life: whose heart, not made of that temper to bow, burst with the weight of a declining Fortune. Some few houres before he dyed, he saw a list of their names who conspired with the King of France, and Earle *Richard* against him; and finding therein his sonne *John* to be the first, falls into a grievous passion, both cursing his sons, and the day wherein himselfe was borne: and in that distemperature departs the World, which so often himselfe had distempered; having reigned thirty five yeares, seaven moneths, and five dayes.

1189.  
Anno  
Reg. 35

His sonne *Richard* approaching the Corps, as it was carrying to be interred (adorned according to the usuall manner of Kings, with all royall Ornaments open faced) the blood gushed out of the nostrills of the Dead (a signe usually noted, of guiltinesse) as if Nature yet after Death, retayned some intelligence in the veines, to give notice of wrong, and checke the malice of an unnaturall Offender: at which sight, *Richard* surprized with horror, is said to have burst out into extreame lamentations.

His issue:

He had issue by his Wife *Eliouer*, foure sonnes, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Geffery*, and *John*; besides two other, *William* the eldest, and *Philip* the youngest but one, dyed young. Also three Daughters; *Maude* married to *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*; *Eliouer* the Wife of *Alonso* the eighth of that name, King of *Castile*; *Isa* given in marriage unto *William* King of *Sicile*. He had also two naturall sonnes, by *Rosamond* daughter of *Walter* Lord *Clifford*, *William*, surnamed *Longespee*, in English *Long-sword*, and *Geffery* Arch-Bishop of *Torke*, who after five yeares banishment in his brother King *Johns* time dyed, Anno 1213.

Vide Ia. Speed.

The first sonne *William* surnamed *Longespee*, Earle of *Salisbury* (in right of *Ela* his Wife: daughter and heire of *William* Earle of that Country, sonne of Earle *Patrick*) had issue *William* Earle of *Salisbury*, and *Stephen* Earle of *Wylster*; *Ela* Countesse of *Warwicke*; *Ida* Lady *Beauchampe* of *Bedford*, and *Isabell* Lady *Vesey*. His Sonne, Earle *William* the second, had Earle *William* the third, Father of *Margaret*, Wife of *Henry* Lacy Earle of *Lincolne*.

It is sayd, King *Henry* had also a third naturall sonne called *Morgan* (by the Wife of one *Rodolph Bloeth* or *Blewes* a Knight;) he lived to be Provost of *Be-verly*, and to be elected to the Bishopricke of *Duresme*; and comming to

Rome

Rome for a dispensation (because his Bastardy made him otherwise uncapable) the Pope willed him to professe him selfe *Blewes* lawfull sonne; and not the Kings Naturall, promising to Consecrate him on that condition; but he (using the advice of one *William Lane* his Clerke) told the Pope, that for no worldly promotion he would renounce his Father, or deny himselfe to be of Blood Royall.

*The end of the Life and Reigne of Henry the second.*

*The Life and Reigne of Richard the first.*

**R**ICHARD surnamed *Cœur de Lyon* (borne at *Oxford*) succeeding his Father, first seizes upon his Treasure in *France*, being in the hands of *Stephen Thurstinham* Seneschall of *Normandy*, whom he imprisons with fetters, and manacles to extort the uttermost thereof. And then repaires to *Ram*, where, by *Walter* the Archbishop he is girt with the sword of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, takes fealty both of the Clergy and Lay, and then goes to *Parle* and compose this businesse with the King of *France*, which he did by mony; and obtayned restitution of all such peeces as had beene gotten from his Father in the time of the late Warres. Besides, for his better strength, hee gives in marriage *Maude* his Neece, daughter of the Duke of *Saxony*, to *Geffery* sonne to the Earle of *Perche*.

He began his  
reigne the 6.  
of July, aged  
35.

1189.

Anno.

Reg. 1.

During this stay and settling of his affayres in *France*, *Queene Elionor* his Mother, freed from her imprisonment (which shee had endured twelve yeares) hath power to dispose of the businesse of *England*, which especially she employed in preparing the affections of the people by pardons, and redreemments of oppressions, and then meetes her sonne at *Winchester*. Where (besides his Fathers Treasure which was 900000. pounds in gold and silver; besides Plate, Jewels and pretious stones) there fell unto him by the death of *Geffery Riddle* Bishop of *Eley* dying intestate, 3060. Markes of silver, and 205. gold, which came well to defray the charge of his Coronation, celebrated the third day of *September*, 1189. at *Westminster*, and imbrued with the miserable slaughter of the Iewes inhabiting in, and about the Citty of *London*, who coming to offer their presents, as an afflicted people, in a strange Country, to a new King, in hope to get his favour, were set upon by the multitude, and many lost both their lives and substance. The example of *London* wrought the like mischiefe upon the Iewes in the Townes of *Norwich*, *Saint Edmondsbury*, *Lincolne*, *Stamford* and *Linne*.

The slaughter  
of the Iewes  
at the corona-  
tion.

All this great Treasure left to this King, was not thought sufficient for this intended action of the holy Warre (which was still on foote) but that all other wayes were devised to raise more mony, and the King sells much Land of the Crowne, both to the Clergy and other. *Godfrey de Lucie* Bishop of *Winchester* bought two Mannors, *Weregrave* and *Menes*. The Abbot of *Saint Edmondsbury*, the Mannor of *Mildhall* for one thousand Markes of silver. The Bishop of *Duresme* the Mannor of *Sadborough* with the dignity Palatinate of his whole Province, which occasioned the King jestingly to say, what a cunning worke-man he was that could make of an old Bishop a new Earle. Besides he grants to *William* King of *Scots*, the Castles of *Barwicke*, and *Roxborough* for 10000. Marks, and releaseth him of those covenants made & confirmed by his Charter unto King *Henry* the second, as extorted from him being then his Prisoner, reserving to himselfe onely such rights, as had bin & wereto be performed, by his brother *Malcolin* to his ancestors the Kings of *England*.

Moreover pretending to have lost his Signet, made a new, and Proclamation that *Whosoever would safely enjoy, what under the former Signet was granted, should come to have it confirmed by the new*, whereby he rayed great sums of money to the griefe of his subjects. Then procures, he a power from the Pope, that whosoever himselfe pleased to dismisse from the journey, and leave at home, should be free from taking the Crosse; and this likewise got him great Treasure, which was leaved with much expedition by reason the King of France, in November, after the Coronation, sent the Earle of Perch, with other Commissioners to signifie to King Richard, how in a generall Assembly at Paris, he had solemnly sworne upon the Evangelists to be ready at *Tours*, with all the Princes and people of his Kingdome, who had undertaken the Crosse, presently upon Easter next following, thence to set forward for the holy Land. And for the assurance, and testimony thereof, he sends the Charter of this Deede unto the King of England, requiring him and his Nobility, under their hands to assure him in like sort, to be ready at the same time, and place, which was in like manner concluded at a generall Councell held at London. And in December (having onely stayed but foure moneths in England after his Coronation) this King departs into Normandy, keepe his Christmas at Rouen, and presently after hath a Parle with the King of France at Reimes, where by Oath and writing under their hands and seale, with the faith given by all their Nobility on both sides, is confirmed a most strict Peace and Vnion betwixt both Kings, for the preservation of each other and their estates, with the others concluded for their journey. Which done, the King of England sends for Queene Elienor his mother, his brother John, and the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Winchester, Duresme, Norwich, Bath, Salisbury, Eley, Chester, and others, which came unto him to Rouen: where he commits the especiall charge of this Kingdome to William Longshamp Bishop of Eley, under the Title of Chiefe Iustice of England, and gives him one of his Seales, and the Custody of the Tower of London; and confers upon Hugh Bishop of Duresme the Iusticeship of the North, from Humber to Scotland, with the keeping of Windsor Castle, which after gave occasion of dissention, to these two ambitious Prelates impatient of each others greatnesse. Hugh Bardolph, William Marshall, Gessery Fitz Peter, and William Brewer, are joyned in commission with the Bishop of Eley.

And lest his brother John (whose spirit he well understood) might in England worke upon the advantage of his absence, he first caused him to take an Oath not to come within this Kingdome for the space of three yeares next following. Which after, upon better consideration, he released, leaving him to his liberty and naturall respect. But hereby having given him first a wound by his distrust, his after-regard could never heale it up againe, nor all the Honours and State bestowed on him, keepe him within the limits of obedience.

For, this suspicion of his Faith, shewed him rather the way to breake, than retaine it; whensoever occasion were offered: And the greater meanes hee had bestowed on him to make him content, did but arme him with greater power for his designs. For this Earle John had conferred upon him in England, the Earledomes of Cornewall, Dorset, Sommerfet, Nottingham, Darby, Lancaster; and by the Marriage with Isabell, Daughter to the Earle of Gloucester, had likewise that Earledome; moreover the Castles of Marlborow and Lutgarfall, the Honours of Wallingford, Titchill, and Eye; to the valew of foure thousand Markes per annum, besides the great commands he held thereby: which mighty Estate was not a meanes to satisfie, but increase his desires, and make him more dangerous at home.

The Kings  
departure out  
of England to-  
ward the Ho-  
ly Warre.

The great  
estate left to  
Earle John.

Then



Then the more to strengthen the reputation of this Vice-roy the Bishop of Eley, the King gets the Pope to make him his Legat of all England and Scotland, and to the end his Government might not be disturbed through the emulation of another, he confines the elect Arch-Bishop of *York* (his base brother, whose turbulency hee doubted) to remaine in *Normandy* till his returne, and takes his oath to performe the same.

Having thus ordered his affaires he sends backe into England this great Bishop, furnished with as great, and absolute power, as he could give him, to provide necessaries for his intended journey. Wherein to please the King he offended the people, and committed great exactions, *Gloriam & populum opprimebat, confundens sequentes* (saith *Hoveden*.) He took of every City in England two Palfryes, and two other Horses of service, and of every Abbay one of each, likewise of every Mannor of the Kings, one of each for this service. And to shew what he would prove, he tooke the Castle of *Windsor* from the Bishop of *Durresme*, and confined him within his Towne of *Hawarden*, questions his Authority, and workes him much vexation, and for all his meanes made to the King, overtopt him.

The King takes order for a Navy to convey people and provision to the holy Land, and commits the charge thereof to the Arch-Bishop of *Auxere*, and the Bishop of *Bayon*, *Robert de Sahul*, *Richard Cantwile*, which done, both Kings, at the latter end of *June*, with their powers together, take their journey to *Lyons*; where (their numbers growing so great, as bred many incomberments, and distempnings betwene the Nations) they part companies; the King of *France* takes the way of *Genova* by Land, the King of *England*, of *Marseilles*; where, after he had stayd eight dayes, expecting in vaine the coming about of his Navy, with held by tempest, he was forced to hire twenty Gallies, & ten other great vessels, to transport him into the Isle of *Sicily*. The King of *France* takes shipping at *Genova*, and by tempest was driven to land in the same Isle, and arrayed there before the King of *England*: where, those mighty companies of both these powerfull Kings, fell shule on each other, and themselves taking part with their people enters in quarrell and rancor, so that being of equall power and stomacke, and alike emulous of honour and revenge, they began to shew what successe, their enterprise was likely to yeeld. The King of *France* repaying his wracked Navy, and the King of *Englands* long staying for his, forced them both to Winter in *Sicily*, to the great pesture and disturbance of that people, themselves and theirs.

*William* late King of *Sicily* who had married *Joan* sister to the King of *England*, was dead (which made the entertaynement of the English there, the worse) and *Tancred* base soune of *Roger*, grand-father to *William*, was invested in the Kingdome, contrary to the will of the late King (dying without Issue,) and the fidelity of the people sworne to *Constantia* the lawfull daughter of the sayd *Roger*, married to *Henry* King of *Almaine*, sonne to the Emperour *Frederick Barbarossa*; by which occasion, *Tancred* was forced to use all meanes to hold what he had gotten by strong hand, and had much to doe against the Emperour and his sonne *Henry*. The King of *England* after great contention with him, to make the conditions of his sisters Dowry the better, enters into league with *Tancred*, against all men to preserve his estate, and gets in conclusion 20000. Ounces of Gold for his Sisters Dowry, & 10000. more, upon a match to be made betwene *Arthur* Earle of *Brittaine*, sonne to *Geffrey* his next brother (who was to succede him in the Crowne of *England*, if himselfe dyed without Issue) and the daughter of *Tancred*.

At the opening of the Spring (both Kings having bene reconciled, and

A Marginal  
quod exco-  
municat  
A. 118. A

Exactions by  
the Vice-roy.

The Kings  
quarrell in the  
Isle of *Sicily*.

The Kings  
reconciled.

Berenguela fi-  
anced to King  
Richard.

new Articles of peace and concord signed and sworn) the King of France sets first forward to the holy Land; but the King of England stays in Sicile; untill Whitsonide after. And during his abode (which might therefore be the longer) his Mother Queene *Eliouer* (who in her youth had well knowne the travaile of the East) came unto him, bringing with her *Berenguela*, Daughter to the King of *Navarre*, who was there fianced unto him. Which done, Queene *Eliouer* departs home by the way of *Rome*, and the young Lady with the Queene Dowager of *Sicile*, take their journey with the King; who sets forth with an hundred and thirty ships, and fifty Gallies, and was by tempest driven to the Isle of *Cyprus*; where, being denied landing, hee assailes the Isle on all sides, subdues it, places his Garrisons therein, and commits the custody of the same to *Richard de Canville*, and *Robert de Turnham*, taking halfe the goods of the Inhabitants from them; in Lieu whereof he confirmed the use of their owne Lawes. And here our Histories say, he married the Lady *Berenguela*, and caused her to be Crowned Queene.

These mischiefes suffered these two famous Isles of Christendome, in the passage of those mighty Princes against Pagans, who peradventure would have as well used them for their goods, and treasure as they did; But Armies and power know no inferiour friends; it was their Fate so to lye in the way of great attempters, who, though in the cause of Piety, would not sticke to doe any injustice.

From hence passeth this famous King to the holy Land, with the spoiles and treasure of three noble rich Islands, *England*, *Sicile*, and *Cyprus* (besides what *Normandy* and *Guien* could furnish him withall) and there consumes that huge collected masse, even as violently as it was gotten, though to the exceeding great renowne of him, and the Nation. Here for the better understanding this businesse, it is not amisse to deliver in what sort stood the Estate of those Affayres in *Asia*, which so much troubled these mighty Princes, and drew them from the utmost bounds of *Europe*; thus to adventure themselves, and consume their Estates.

It was now foure score and eight yeares since *Godfrey* of *Bologne*, Prince of *Lorraine*, with his company recovered the City of *Ierusalem*, with the Country of *Palestina*, and a great part of *Syria*, out of the hands of the *Sarazins*, obtayned the Kingdome thereof, that was Crowned with a Crowne of Thornes in example of our Saviour, Reigned one yeare, dyed, and left to succede him his brother *Baldwin*, who governed eightene yeares, and left the Crowne to another of that name, *Baldwin de Burgo*, who reigned thirteene yeares, and left a daughter, and his Kingdome in dissention. *Fulke* Earle of *Aniow* marries this Daughter: and enjoys this Kingdome eleven yeares, and left two young sonnes, *Baldwin*, and *Almerique*: *Baldwin* reignes foure and twenty yeares, and after him his brother *Almerique* twelve, and leaves *Baldwin* his sonne to succede him; who being sicke, and despayring of issue, made *Baldwin* his Nephew, sonne to the Marquesse of *Monferrato* and *Sibilla* his sister, his successour, and commits the charge of him, with the administration of the Kingdome, to *Raymond* Earle of *Tripoly*, whom *Guy de Lusignan*, who had married *Sibilla* (the Widdow of *Monferrato*) put from that charge, and usurped the Government, and at length the Kingdome, not without suspicion of poysoning the young King. *Raymond* making Warre upon him, *Lusignan* drawes in *Sultan Saladin* of *Egypt* to his ayde, who glad of that occasion, to augment his owne State destroyed them both, with their Kingdome, and won the City of *Ptolomeides*, *Asoto*, *Berytha*, *Ascalon*, and after one moneths siege, the City of *Ierusalem*, foure score and eight yeares after it had bin conquered by *Godfrey*.

Now

The State of  
*Palestina*.

Now to recover this confounded State, come these two Great King from a farre and a different clyme, with an Army composed of severall Nations, and severall humours, English, French, Italians and Germaines; against a mighty Prince of an united power, within his owne ayre, neare at home, bred and made by the sword, inured to victories, acquainted with the fights, and forces of the Christians, and possessed almost of all the best peeces of that Country.

The Kings of England and France besiege Acon.

And here they sit downe before the City of *Acon*, defended by the power of *Saladin*, which had bee ne before besieged by the Christians the space of three yeares; and had cost the lives of many worthy Princes, and great Personages, whose names are delivered by our Writers, amongst whom I will remember these few of especiall note: *Conradus* Duke of *Saxonia*, sonne of *Fredericke* the Emperour (which *Fredericke* was also drowned coming thither with the Earles of *Perth*, *Pumif*, and old *Theobald* Earle of *Blouys*, that famous *Stickler* betweene the Kings of *England* and *France*; *Stephen* Earle of *Sauoyre*; the Earle of *Vandosme*, *Beroldus* a Duke of *Germanie*, *Roger* and *Iselin* Earles of *Apulia*, &c. And lastly, *Phillip* Earle of *Flanders*; and of our Nation, *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; *Robert* Earle of *Leicester*; *Ralph de Glanville* chiefe Iustice of *England*, *Richard de Clare*; *Walter de Kime*, &c. And notwithstanding all the forces of these two Kings, they held out foure moneths after, and then rendered themselves upon composition.

At their entring into the City, the Ensignes of *Leopold* Duke of *Austrich*, being planted on the Wallles, were with great scorn taken downe by the commandement of King *Richard*, and those of the two Kings erected; which bred great rancor, and was afterward the occasion of much mischief to the King of *England*. Besides, during this siege, divers stings were misstrid, or taken of displeasure, and malice betweene the two Kings, apt to be set on fire, by the least touches of conceite.

The King of *France* full of disdain, for the rejection of his Sister, and the marriage of the King of *England* with *Berenguela*; besides competition of honour (which their equality was subject unto) made any jot of the least disproportion thereof, a wound without cure: And daily occasions in so great hearts fell out to worke the same. The Articles of equall dividing their gaires in this voyage, concluded betweene them, is questioned. The King of *France* claimes halfe the Isle of *Cyprus*, the King of *England*, halfe the Treasures and goods of the Earle of *Flanders*, whereon the King of *France* had seized; and therein theyther is satisfied. Then are there two pretenders to the Crowne of *Jerusalem*, *Guy* of *Lusignan*, and *Conrade*, Marquis of *Monferrato*: *Guy* pleades the possession thereof, which he had by his wife *Sibilla*; the King of *England* takes part with *Guy*; the King of *France*, with *Conrade*; and with these differences are they kept in imbroylements, and continually distempered, in so much, as by their owne heates and the contagion of the Country, they fell into a most dangerous sicknesse, that cost them both their haire, being more than they got by the voyage.

The Kings of England and France dangerously sick.

But being recovered, the King of *France* had no longer will to stay there, where hee saw no more likelyhood of honour or profit; and at home, hee knew was better good to be done with lesse danger; and the rather by the death of the Earle of *Flanders*, whose state lay so neere, as it tooke up part of his; whereof he had a purpose to abridge his successor, and therefore, craves leave of the King of *England* (for without leave of each other it was covenanted, neither of them should depart) to returne home: which King *Richard*, was hardly wont to grant, in respect he knew the danger, it might worke him



The King of  
France departs  
from the holy  
Warre.

him in his absence, to let such an offended Lyon loose. But in the end through the earnest solicitation of the King of France, and the assurance (confirmed by Oath) not to doe any thing offensive to his Dominions in France, during his absence, he yeelds thereunto. And so departs this great Prince, leaving the Earle of *Borgogne* Lieutenant of his forties: And King *Richard* betakes him to the siege of *Acre*: writes invective letters against the King of France for leaving him: Who likewise detames King *Richard* amongst his neighbours at home. And it may be doubted whether the perjury of these two Kings did not adde more to their sinne, than the action they undertooke for the remission thereof could take away, for that a good worke impiously managed, merits no more than an ill.

Ten moneths the King of England staves behind in these parts, consuming both his men and treasure without any great successe, though with much noble valour and exceeding courage; finding ever great perversnesse in the Earle of *Borgogne*, who according to his maisters instructions shewed no great desire to advance the action, where another must carry the honour; but willing alwayes to returne home (pretending his want) drew backe when any businesse of importance was to be done, and at length falls sicke, and dyes at *Acon*.

Conrade mur-  
thered.

*Conrade*, who was so much favoured by the King of France, in his title for that Kingdome, was murdered by two *Assassins*, whereof the King of England was (but very wrongfully) taxed; and the Earle of *Champagne*, marrying his Widdow, sister to Queene *Sibilla*, was by King *Richard* preferred to the Crowne of *Jerusalem*, and *Guy of Lusignan* (the other pretender) made King of *Cyprus*, & so both contented. During this businesse abroad in the East, the state of England suffered much at home under the government of *Longshamp*, who usurping the whole authority to himselfe, without communicating any thing eyther with the Nobility, or the rest of the Commissioners joyned with him, did what he listed, and with that insolency carried himselfe, as he incurred the hatred of the whole Kingdome, both Clergy and Lay. His traine was sayd to be so great, and the pompe of attendants such, as where he lay in any religious house but one night, three yeares revenues would scarce suffice to recover the charge. Besides, being a stranger himselfe, and using onely French men about him, made his courses the more intollerable to the English; in so much, as at length the whole Clergy, and Nobility oppose against his proceedings, and the Earle *John* taking advantage upon these discontentments (to make himselfe more popular, and prepare the way to his intended usurpation) joynes with the state against this Bishop, being the man that had ever crossed his courses, having an especiall eye unto him, as the most dangerous person of the kingdome, both in respect of the Kings charge, and his owne safety.

*Longshamps*  
trayne and  
pompe.

1191.

Anno

Reg. 3.

*Geffer* the  
Elect of *Torke*  
taken and im-  
prisoned by  
the Chan-  
cellor.

And now there fell out a fit occasion to ruine the Chancellor by this meanes. *Geffer* the Elect Arch-Bishop of *Torke*, base sonne to *Henry* the second, to whose preferment in England, King *Richard* was averse (and therefore had confin'd him within *Normandy*, during his absence), had by great labour to Pope *Celestine*, obtained a power to be invested in the Sea: whose comming into England being advertised to the Chancellor *Longshamp*, he was at his landing at *Dover* apprehended, and drawne by force out of the Church which he had recovered, and from the Altar in his Pontificall Habit trayled into the Castle in most vile manner. Of which violence the Earle *John*, and the Bishop taking notice, they command the Chancellor not onely to release him, but also to answer the matter, before the assembly

assembly of the Bishops, and Nobility at *Pauls*: where, they article, and urge against him many haynous actions committed, contrary to the Commission given him, and the Weale of the King and Kingdome.

The Archbishop of *Roan*, and *William* Marshall Earle of *Striguile*, shewed openly the Kings Letters Patents, dated at *Messena* in *Sicile*, whereby they were made Commissioners with him in the Government of the Kingdome; which notwithstanding, he would never suffer them to deale in any businesse of the same; but by his owne violent, and head-long will, doe all himselfe; wherefore in the end he was by the Assembly deposed from his Office; and the Archbishop of *Rouen* (who would doe nothing without the Councell of the State) instituted therein. The Tower of *London*, and the Castle of *Windson* are taken from him, and delivered to the Arch-bishop. And so this great Officer presuming too much in his place (having envy so neare him, and a maister so farre off) was throwne downe from his State, faine to resigne his Legantine Crosse at *Canterbury*, and to take up that for the holy Warre: and privily seeking to escape over Sea, was, in the habite of a woman, with a web of Linnin cloth under his arme, taken upon the shore at *Dover*, and most opprobriously made a spectacle to the people, and Conducted with all derision to the Castle; whence after eight dayes he was by the Earle *John* released, and suffered to goe on his journey; wherein, being the messenger of his owne misusage, he had the advantage of his adversaries, and prevailed against them with the Pope, who took it very tenderly, the power Legantine should be so vilified.

The Earle *John*, the Archbishop of *Rouen*, and the other Iustices of the King, grant unto the City of *London* their Common (or liberties) and the Citizens swore fealty to King Richard and his heire; and that if he dyed without Issue, they would receive the Earle *John* for their Lord and King, and likewise swore fealty unto him against all men, reserving their faith to King Richard.

In this forwardnesse was the Earle *John* for his brothers Crowne, whilst he is beleaguering *Ascalon*, and grappling with *saladin* Sultan in the East. But having notice of this proceeding in *England*, and how the King of *France* had taken in *Gisors*, and the Country of *Vexlin*, contrary to his Oath; he takes the opportunity of an offer made by *Saladine* of a Truce for three yeares, upon condition that he should restore *Ascalon* to the same State wherein hee found it before the siege: which he did by the Counsell of the Templars, and the whole Army. And presently leaving Wife, Sister, and people to come after him (as they could provide) takes a shippe with some few followers, and returns from his action, with as great precipitation as he undertooke it: having consumed therein all that mighty Treasure left him by his Father, and all that otherwise he could teare from his Subjects, and divers others, by violent extortion, or cunning practises.

Pardon us Antiquity, if we mis-censure your actions, which are ever (as those of men) according to the vogue, and sway of times, and have onely their upholding by the opinion of the present: We deale with you but as posterity will with us (which ever thinks it selfe the wiser) that will judge likewise of our errors according to the cast of their imaginations. But for a King of *England* to returne in this fashion, cannot be but a note of much inconsideration, and had as pitifull an event, For having taken up by the way three Gallies to conduct him to *Ragusa* for three hundred Markes of silver, (disguised under the names of Pilgrims) he was by his lavish expences, discovered to be the King of *England*; which note once taken, it was impossible for him to lay any covering thereon, that could ever hide him more: though upon warning thereof, he presently

*Langshamph*  
the Chancel-  
lor deposed  
from his  
Office.

He flies and is  
taken.

King Richards  
departure  
from Pale-  
stina.

His discovery.

King Richard  
taken priso-  
ner.

presently left all his Company, and with one man onely takes horse, and through all the dangers of a wilde Desert, and rocky Country, travayling day and night, passes into *Austrich*, where Fame, that was a speedier Post than himselfe, was before him. And comming to a Village neare to *Vienna*, and reposing himselfe in a poore hostery, was taken asleepe, by meanes of his companion going forth to provide necessaries for him, who as hee was changing mony was knowne, taken, and brought before the Duke of *Austrich*, and upon examination confessed where his maister was; of which prize the Duke was most joyfull, in respect of his revenge for the disgrace he did him at the entring of *Acon*, and presently sends him to the Emperour *Henry the sixt*, whom likewise he had offended for ayding *Tancredi* the base sonne of *Roger*, in the usurpation of the Crowne of *Sicilia*, against *Constantia* the lawfull daughter of the same *Roger* whom this Emperour had married.

King Richard  
deposed him-  
selfe of the  
Kingdome of  
England.

Newes hereof is presently sent by the Emperour to the King of *France*, that he might likewise rejoyce at this Fortune, and he tells him, *That now the Enemy of his Empire, and the disturber of the Kingdome of France, was fast in hold, and all the manner how.* The State of *England* is likewise soone certified of this heavy disaster, and great meanes is made to redeeme their King out of Captivity, who is sayd to have borne his Fortune with that magnanimity, and cleared himselfe of the scandalls layd on him for the death of *Conrade* the Emperours kinsman, and other his actions in the East, in such sort, as he won the affection of the Emperour, so that he professed a great desire to restore him, and reconcile him to the King of *France*. But yet we finde, *That King Richard deposed himselfe of the Kingdome of England, and delivered the same to the Emperour as his supreme Lord, and invested him therein by the delivering up his hat,* which the Emperour returned unto him in the presence of the Nobility of *Germany* and *England*, to hold this Kingdome from him for fifty thousand pounds sterling to be payd as an annuall tribute.

Earle John  
doth homage  
to the King of  
*France* for  
*Normandy*.

And yet notwithstanding all this, the King of *France*, combining with the Earle *John*, prevailed so much with the Emperour, as he held him Prisoner a whole yeare, and six weekes, through the offer of mighty summes they made unto him. For he, and the Earle *John* fully accounted that hee should have beene held a perpetuall prisoner, and upon that reckoning the Earle *John* did homage to the King of *France* for the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and all the rest of those transmarine Territories, and for *England* as it is sayd; and besides resignes unto him *Gisors*, with the Country of *Vexlin*, sweates to marry his sister *Alice*, and to be divorced from his other Wife, the Daughter of the Earle of *Glocester*. The King of *France* covenants to give him with his sister, that part of *Flanders* which he had taken from that Earledome, and sweares to ayde him in the attayning both of *England* and whatsoever else the Lands of his brother.

Then goes the Earle *John* over into *England*, carrying many strangers with him, and presently the Castles of *Wallingford* and *Windsor*, are rendred unto him: then comes he to *London* and requires of the Archbishop of *Rouen*, and other the Commissioners, the Kingdome of *England*, and that fealty be made unto him, affirming his brother was dead; but they not giving credit unto him, and denying his desire; with rage and strong hand, he fortifies his Castles, and in hostile manner invades the Lands of his brother, finding many partakers to joyne with him.

The Queene mother, the Iustices of *England*, and all the faithfull servants of the King, guard and defend the ports, against the invasion of the French and



and *Flemings*, who in great numbers seeke to ayde the Earle *John*; and also they labour the redemption of the King, whose ranfome the Emperour rates at one hundred thousand Markes, with the finding of fifty Gallies ready furnished, and two hundred souldiers to attend his service in the holy Warre for one yeare.

In *Normandy* the Officers and Servants of the King of *England*, defend with no lesse faith and courage, the right of their Master against the King of *France*, who with all his power, labours to subdue them, and by his large offers to the Emperour prolongs his redemption, and inhaunces his ranfome. This toyle and charge is the world put into, through the misfortune and weakenesse of their hardy King, who, onely in respect of his Valour, (being otherwise not worth so much,) and the holy worke he undertook, (whereby he obliged the Clergy, which then managed all) got the opinion and love of his subjects, in such sort, as they strayne even beyond their ability to recover and preserve him, and so wrought in the end that the Emperour compounds with King *Richard* in this manner: That he should send his Commissioners to London, and receive an hundred thousand Markes of pure silver of *Cologne* weight, to be sealed up and safely conducted to the bounds of the Empire; at the perill of the King of *England*; and other fifty thousand Markes of silver (whereof twenty thousand for the Duke of *Austrich*, and thirty thousand for the Emperour, to be paid at seven moneths after, and pledges to be given: threescore to the Emperour, and seven to the Duke. Besides, the King of *England* swears to send his Neece, the sister of *Arthur* Earle of *Brittaine*, to be married to the Duke of *Austrich*, &c.

The Emperours composition with Richard.

And the Emperour granted to the King of *England* by his Chartre the sovereignty of *Provence*, *Vienne* and *Viennoy*, *Marsellus*, *Narbona*, *Arles*, *Lyons*, and whatsoever he had in *Burgogne*, with the homages of the King of *Arragon*, the Earles of *Dijon*, and *Saint Giles*. In which countries were five Archbishopricks; but the Emperour could never have domination over them, nor they receive any Lord that he presented them. So that this great gift consisted but in Title, which yet pleased King *Richard*, that he might not seeme to part with all his substance for nothing. And the same wind he sends to *Hubert* the new Archbishop of *Canterbury*, late made his Vicegerent in *England*, to be blowne over all the Kingdome, by a letter wrote unto him: wherein he hath these words. For that sure I am, you much desire our deliverance and greatly rejoyce therein, we will that you be partaker of our joy, and thought fit to signifie to your belovednesse, that the Lord the Emperour hath prefixed the day thereof, to be upon Munday after the feast of the Nativity, and the Sunday after we shall receive the Crowne of the Kingdome of *Provence*, which he hath given us, whereof we send his Letters Patents unto you, and other our friends and well willers; and doe you in the meane time, as much as in you lyeth, comfort those you know love us; and desire our promotion. Teste me ipso apud *Spiram* 22. Sept.

King Richards letters into England.

1192.  
Anno  
Reg. 4.

The Emperour likewise writes to the Bishops, Earles, Barons, and other the subjects of *England*, how he purposed to advance and magnificently to honour his especial friend their King, and in this Coyne are they paid home for what they were to lay out.

King *Richard* sends after this, for his Mother Queene *Elionor* (who is still a Travailer) and for the Archbishop of *Rouen* with many others to come unto him, about the time and businesse of his deliverance, for which, there is imposed upon every Knights Fee twenty shillings, the fourth part of all Laymens revenues, and the fourth part of all the revenues of the Clergy, with a tenth of their goods is enjoyned to be paid. The Chalice and Treasure of all Churches are taken to make up the sum, the like is done in all his Territories beyond the Seas,

The King of France and Earle Iohn proffers great tummes to hold King Richard prisoner.

King Richards returne into England.

1193.  
Anno  
Reg. 5.

A Parliament at Nottingham.

So dearely cost the returne of this King from his *Easterne Voyages*. And his Queene *Berenguela* had likewise her part of affliction in this journey, for she with her sister in Law the Queene Dowager of *Sicilia* treating the Emperours malice, were a whole yeare in travelling from *Palestina*, and at length were conducted unto *Poillon*. The King of France hearing of this conclusion made betwixt King *Richard* and the Emperour, writes to the Earle *Iohn*, how the diuill was got loose, willing him now to look to himselfe, and it vexed them exceedingly both, being disappointed of their hopes: and thereupon the Earle *Iohn* leaving his Castles in England well defended, and encouraging his souldiers to hold out, and credit no reports, departs into *Normandy*, where he with the King of France, whilst King *Richard* is yet in the Emperours hands, solicites him, with the proffer of a hundred and fifty thousand Marks, or else a thousand pound a month, so long as he held him his prisoner. But it prevailed not, though it staggered the Emperour for a time, who in the end shewed this letter to King *Richard* (that he might see what care was taken for him) and then delivers him to his mother *Elionor*, receiving the pledges for observation of peace, (and the rest of the ranfome unpaid) the Arch-bishop of *Rouen*, the Bishop of *Bath*, with the sonnes of many principall Earles and Barons. And so in *February*, one yeare and six weekes after his Captivity, in the fourth yeare of his reigne he returnes into *England*, where the Bishops (in whose grace especially he was) had excommunicated the Earle *Iohn* and all his adherents, and taken in his Castles of *Marleborow*, *Lancaster*, and a Fortresse at *S. Michels* mount in *Cornewall* defended by *Henry de Pumeroy*. But his Castle of *Nottingham*, though strongly assailed by *Ralph* Earle of *Chester* and the Earle *Ferrers*, and the Castle of *Tichill* by the Bishop of *Duresme*, held out for the Earle *Iohn*, and found the King some worke to doe upon his returne; who presently without any stay other where, came before *Nottingham* Castle with all the shew of state and greatnesse he could make; which yet could not so terrifie the defendants, as to make them yeeld, confident cyther in their owne strength, or in opinion that there was no King ever to returne to assault them, and supposing it but a meere shew, resolved to hold out for their maister; which put the King to much trauaile, and great expence of blood before they rendred themselves, which was also upon pardon. Those of the Castle of *Tichill* yeelded to the Bishop of *Duresme*, their persons and goods saved.

The King assembles a Parliament at *Nottingham*, where Queene *Elionor* was present, and sate on his right hand. The first day of the Session, he dispossesseth *Girard de Carwile* of the Castle of *Lincolne*, and the *Shriefwick* of that shire: from *Hugh Bardolph* he takes the *Shriefwicke* of *Yorkeshire*, the Castles of *Yorke*, *Scarborow*, and the custody of *Westmerland*, and exposes them all to sale. The Arch-bishop of *Yorke* gives for the *Shriefwicke* of *Yorkeshire*, three thousand markes, with one hundred markes of annuall rent.

The second day of the Session the King requires judgement upon the Earle *Iohn*, for having contrary to his oath of fealty, usurped his Castles, &c. & contracted confederacy with the King of France against him. And likewise judgement against *Hugh de Navant* Bishop of *Coventry*, for adhering to the Earle *Iohn*, and the kings enemies. And it was adjudged, they should both appeare at a peremptory day to stand to the law; which if they did not, the Earle *Iohn* to be banished, & the Bishop to undergoe the judgement, both of the Clergy, as being a Bishop, and of Layty, being the Kings shriefe; But the Bishop two yeares after, was restored to the Kings favour, and his Bishopricke, for five thousand Markes. The third day of this Session was granted to the King, of every plough-land throughout *England*,

two shillings best of the King required the third part of the service of every Knight's fee for his attendance in Normandy; & all the wooll that yeare of the Kings Cisterian. Which for that it was grievous & insupportable unto them, they fine for many.

The fourth and last day, was for the hearing of grievances and accusations, and so this assembly brake up. But here eyther to adde more Majesty after calamity, or else to nullifie his act done to the Emperour, is appointed the Kings recoronation to be solemnized at Winchester, presently upon the Feast of Easter next following. Whilst the King was in these parts, William King of Scots, repaires to him, and required the dignities and honours his predecessors of right had in England, and withall, the Countie of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmerland, and Lancaster. To whom the King of England first answered, that he would satisfy him by the advice of his Councell, which shortly after was assembled at Northampton; where after deliberation, he told him, that his petition ought not in reason, to be granted at this time, when almost all the Princes of France were his enemies; for it would be thought rather an act of feare, than any true affection, and so put it off for that time with faire promises; yet grants he by the advice and consent of the Councell, under his Charter, to William King of Scots and his heires for ever: That when by summons they should come to the Court of the King of England, the Bishop of Duresme, and the Shrieve of Northumberland should receive them at the river of Tweed and bring them under safe conduct to the river of Teis, and there the Archbishop of Yorke, and the Shrieve of Yorkeshire should receive and conduct them to the bounds of that Countie; and so the Bishops and Shrieves of other shieres till they came to the Court of the King of England; and from the time that the King of Scots first entred into this Realme, he should have an hundred shillings a day allowed him of gift for his charge, and after he came to the Court, thirty shilling a day, and twelve Wastels, and twelve Simnels of the Kings, four quarts of the Kings best wine, and six of ordinary wine, two pound of pepper, and foure pounds of Cinamon; two pounds of Wax, or saure Wax lights, forty great long perchers of the Kings best candles, and twenty foure of other ordinary; and at his returne to be safely conducted as he came, and with the same allowance.

Richard again crowned at Winchester.

Resumptions.

From Northampton, both the Kings goe to Woodstocke, and thence to Winchester; where the Coronation is sumptuously solemnized. And there King Richard resumes the two Mannors he sold to the Bishop of Winchester, at his going to the holy Warre, and likewise the Castle of Winchester and that County, with whatsoever sales he had made else of the Demaines of the Crowne, alledging that it was not in his power to aliene any thing appertaining to the same whereby his State was to subsist. The Bishop of Duresme seeing these revocations, did voluntarily deliver up the Castle of Duresme, with the country of Northumberland, which the King willed to be delivered to Hugh Bardolph, Hugh Bishop of Lincoln gave for the liberty of the Church one thousand Markes of silver, redeeming thereby the custome of giving to the King of England every yeare a cloake furred with Sabells.

Here all such who had taken part with the Earle John, and defended his Castles, were summoned to appeare, and all the rich were put to their ransome, the poorer sort let goe at liberty, but under sureties of a hundred Markes a peece, to answer in the Kings Court whensoever they should be called. The King of Scots, seeing the King of England use all meanes for mony, offers fiftene thousand Markes for Northumberland, with the appurtenances, alledging how King Henry the second gave the same to Henry his Father, and that after him, King Malcolm enjoyed it five years. This large offer of mony tempted King Richard so, as againe he consulted with his Councell about the matter,



and in conclusion was willing to yeeld the same to the King of Scots, reserving to himselfe the Castles: but that, the King of Scots would not accept, and to with much discontent departs into Scotland: yet two yeares after this, King Richard sends Hubert Walter Archbishop of Canterbury to *Torrey* there to treat with the King of Scots of a marriage betweene *John* his Nephew, and *Margaret* daughter to the sayd King; to have for her Dowry all *Lynox*, and he would give with his Nephew, *Northumberland*, and the Earldome of *Carlisle*, with all the Castles; but the Queene of Scots in the time of this treaty, being knowne to be with childe, it tooke no effect.

King Richard  
departs into  
Normandy  
with 100 ships.

From *Winchester*, King Richard departs into *Normandy* with an hundred ships, so that his stay in *England* was but from the latter end of *February* to the tenth of *May*, and that time onely spent in gleaning out what possible this kingdome could yeeld, to consume the same in his businesse of *France*, which tooke up all the rest of his Reigne, being in the whole but nine yeares, and nine moneths, whereof he was never above eight moneths in *England*. Nor doe we finde that ever his wife *Berenguela* was here, or had any Dowry or honour of a Queene of *England*, or otherwise of any regard with him, how much soever she had deserved.

And now all affaires that either concerned the State in general, or any mans particular, was (to the great charge and travaile of the subjects of *England*) to be dispatched in *Normandy*; and that gaine we had by our large Dominions abroad. The first action that King Richard undertooke upon his coming over, was the relieving of *Kernoul* besieged by the King of *France*; and there his brother *John*, by the mediation of their mother Queene *Eleanor* is reconciled unto him, and abjures the part of the King of *France*. And to make his party the stronger in those Countreyes, he first gives his sister *Joan*, Queene Dowager of *Sicily*, to *Raymond* Earle of *Tolouse*, being the nearest neighbour of power to his Dutchy of *Guien*, and might most offend him. Then enters league with *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders*, from whom the King of *France* had taken *Artois*, and *Vermandois*, and on all sides seekes to imbroyle his enemy. Foure yeares at least, held this miserable turmoyle betwixt these two Kings, surprising, recovering, ruining and spoiling each others Estate, often deceiving both the world, and themselves with shew of covenants reconciliatory, which were evermore broken againe upon all advantages according to the Mystery of Warre and ambition.

King *Phillip* of *France* to strengthen himselfe with shipping to oppose the English, marries *Botilda* the sister of *Knute* King of *Denmarke*; but this match, made for his ends, and not affection, turned to his more trouble, for the next day after his wedding he put her away, pretending (besides other things) propinquity of blood, and for this had he long and great contention with the Church and the King of *Denmarke*. The Emperour sends to the King of *England* a massie Crowne of gold, and offers to come and ayde him against the King of *France*, and to invade his kingdome; but the King returnes him onely thanks, not willing to have him sturre in this businesse, in regard he suspected the Emperour affected to adde *France* to the Empire, which would not be safe to him: or that the King of *France* dealing with the Emperour might win him with mony, and so in the end, joyne both together against him. Now to supply the charge of this great worke, *England* was faine still to beare the heaviest part; and no shift is left unsought, that might any way raise meanes to the King from hence. Witnesse the Commission given to the Justices itinerants sent into every shiere of *England*, for exactions upon pleas of the Crowne, for Escheats, Wardships, Marriages, &c. with the improvements of the

*Demaines*,

1194.  
Anno  
Reg. 6.

Demaines, and the order taken for the exact knowing of the estates of men; and especially of the Jewes, on whom the King would have none to prey but himselfe. Then the raising an imposition upon allowance of Turnements, which was for every Earle twenty markes of silver: every Baron ten, every Knight having Lands foure; and for such as had none, two markes for a Licence. The collection wherof the Archbishop of Canterbury commits to his brother Thibault Walter. Besides another new scale, the old being lost by the Vice-Chancellor at the taking of Cyprus, brings in a new exaction;

Means used for money.

But the proceeding in the pleas of the Crowne and extorting of penalties, Anno Reg. 9. by Hugh Bardolph, Roger Arncliffe, and Geoffrey Harchet, Iustices Itinerants for Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Darbyshire, Yorkshire, Northumberland, Cumberland & Lancaster, was of a higher straine of exaction, and more profound, as having more of time, and presumption upon the peoples sufferance; of whom, when once ryall was made that they would beare, were iure to have more layd on them than they were able to undergoe. And with these vexations (saith Hoveden) all England from Seax to Sea was reduced to extreame poverty, and yet it ended not here: another torment is added to the confusion of the Subjects by the Iustices of the Forrests, Hugh Nevile, chiefe Iustice, Hugh Wat, and Ernise de Nevile, who not onely execute those hideous Lawes introduced by the Norman, but impose others of more tyrannicall severity, as the memory thereof being odious, deserves to be utterly forgotten, having afterwards by the hard labour of our noble ancestors, and the goodnesse of more regular Princes, beene asswaged and now out of use.

Besids, in the same year, this King imposed 3. shil. on every hide or plough land, (which contained an hundred Acres;) for the levying whereof a most strict course was taken: Likewise he required by the Vicegerent the Archbishop of Canterbury, that the people of England should finde 300. Knights for one yeare to remaine in his service, or so much money, allowing for every Knight, three shil. per diem. Against which, Hugh Bishop of Lincoln. opposes, and sayes, that he would never yeeld to the Kings will in this, for the detriment it might be to the Church, and example of posterity, that should not complaine thereof, and say: Our Fathers have eaten foure grapes, and the childrens teeth are set on edge; and turning to the Archbishop, wished him, that he would doe nothing whereof he might be ashamed.

Vnde cetera na milia Mor-ry. Hoved.

The Archbishop so husbanded the Kings businesse, that in Anno Reg. 7. he yeelded an account unto him, that he had levied of the Kingdome within the space of two yeares, eleven hundred thousand markes of silver which, considering that time, is a most remarkable summe. And now, as the first act of this King was his violent proceeding in a businesse of Treasure with Stephen Thrustan Senehall of Normandy, so was it likewise the last and the cause of his destruction: for Widomare, Viscount of Limoges, having found a great Treasure of silver and gold in the ground, sends a good part thereof to the King, which he refuses, laying claime to the whole; Widomare denying the same the King layes siege to his Castle where he imagined the Treasure was hid; they of the Castle being but weake, offered to render the same, their lives, members, and armour saved; which the King would not yeeld unto, but swore that he would ransacke the Castle, and hang them all. Whereupon desperately they resolved to stand to their defence. King Richard with Marchard, Generall of the Arabansons going about the Castle to view what place was fittest for an assault; Bertram de Gurdun, from the walls shot a barbed arrow that hit the King in the arme, with such a deadly blow, as hee was presently sent to his lodging: notwithstanding commands he his forces to profe-

cute the assault, without intermission; which they did, and tooke the Castle putting to execution all the defendants except *Bertram*, who by the Kings command was reserved.

But the arrow drawne out with great torture, left the head behind, which being by a rude Chirurgion, after much mangling the flesh hardly cut out, brought the King to despair of life, and to dispose of his Estate, leaving to his brother *John* three parts of his Treasure, and the fourth to his servants.

Which done, he willed *Bertram* *Guardun* to be brought unto him, of whom he demanded, what hurt he had done him, that provoked him to doe this mischief: to whom *Bertram* replies: *Thou hast killed my father and my two brothers with thine owne hand, and now wouldest have slain me; take what revenge thou wilt. I willingly endure whatsoever torture thou canst inflict upon me: in respect I have slain thee, who hast done such and so great mischief to the World.* The King notwithstanding this rough and desperate answer, caused him to be let loose, and not onely forgave him his death, but commanded 100. shillings sterling to be given unto him, but *Marchard* after the King was dead, caused him to be hanged and slayed.

This was the end of this Lyon-like King, when he had reigned nine yeares, and nine monthes, wherein he exacted, and consumed more of this Kingdome, than all his predecessors from the Norman had done before him, and yet lesse deserved than any, having neyther lived here, neither left behind him Monument of Piety, or of any other publique worke, or ever shewed love or care to this Common-wealth, but onely to get what he could from it. Never had Prince more given with lesse adoe, and lesse noise than he: The reason whereof, as I have sayd, was his undertaking the holy Warres, and the cause of Christ, with his suffering therein; and that made the Clergy, which then might doe all, to deny him nothing; and the people, fed with the report of his miraculous valour, horrible incounters in his voyage abroad, (and then some victory in *France*) were brought to beare more than ever otherwise they would have done.

Then had he such Ministers here to serve his turne as preferred his, before the service of God, and did more for him in his absence, than ever peradventure he would, or could have done for himselfe by being here present. For both to hold their places and his good opinion, they devise more shifts of rapine, than had ever beene practised before in this Kingdome, and cared not so he were satisfied, what burthen they layd on the Subject; which rent and torne by continuall exactions was made the more miserable, in that they came betrayed with the shew of *Religion* and *Law*, the maine supporters of humane society, ordayned to preserve the state of a people, and not to confound it. But the insolent overcharging the State in these times, gave occasion to the future, to provide for themselves; excesses ever procure alteration. And the successors of this King were but little beholding unto him; for out of his and his brothers irregularity, their boundlesnes came to be brought within some limits. Yet what this King would have proved, had his dayes allowed him other than this rough part of war, we know not; but by the operation of a poore Hermits speech made unto him, we are shewed that he was convertible. For being by him vehemently urged to be mindfull of the subversion of *Sodom*, and to abstaine from things unlawfull, thereby to avoyd the vengeance of God, he upon an insuing sicknes (a sounder Counsaillor than health) remembring this advertisement, vowes a reformation of his life; and did afterward upon his recovery, every morning rise early to heare Divine service. For which *Hoveden* hath this note: *How glorious it is for a Prince to begin and end his*

The Death of  
King Richard.

1199.  
*Anno*  
*Reg. 10.*



his adherents in him, who is beginning without beginning, and judges the ends of the earth. Besides, he growes hospitable to the poore, and made restitution of much Church vessel, that had beene taken and sold for ranfome.

Though this King had no issue, yet was he told by a Priest in France, that he had three evil daughters, and admonished to put them away, and bestow them abroad to avoyde the punishment of God. The King gave him the lie and said, he knew none he had: Yes Sir, replied the Priest, three daughters you have, & they are these, Pride, Covetousnesse, and Letchery. The King calling those who were present about him, and relating what the Priest had said, willed them to be witnesses how he would bestow these three daughters, which the Priest charged him withall. The 1. which is Pride, I give unto the Templars and Hospitallers; Covetousnesse, to the Monks of Cisteraux Orders; & Letchery to the Clergy: This suddaine retraction shewes us his quicknes, & what kind of men were malign'd, & out of his grace.

His issue.

The end of the Life and Reigne of Richard the first.

The Life and Reigne of King John.



**J**OHAN having his brothers Army in the field, with all his Servants and Followers, entertaines them generally with promises of large rewards, and thereby had the advantages of time, power, and opinion, to helpe him onto his desires. Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury being upon businesse in those parts, and the most potent Minister he could wish, for so mighty a worke, he presently dispatches for England, with William Marshall Earle of Striguill, Geffery Fitz, Peter, &c. to prepare the people to receive him for their King: who, especially dealing with those were most doubted would oppose him, and undertaking for him that he should restore unto them their rights, and governe the Kingdome as he ought, with moderation; wrought so as they were all content upon those conditions, to sweare fealty unto him against all men. These undertakers likewise, send word to William King of Scots (to hold him in, from any attempt) that he should also have full satisfaction for what he claimed in England, upon the returne of their new Maister. And so were all things made cleare on this side. But on the other, the right of succession, which was in Arthur the elder brothers Sonne, stirred affections of another nature, the nobility of Anjou, Maine, & Turcin, maintaining the usuall custome of inheritance, adhere to Arthur, whom his mother Constance puts under the Protection of the King of France, who receives him and undertakes the defence of his right.

1199.  
Anno  
Reg. 1.

John having his chiefe ayme at the Crowne of England, could have no time of stay to close those ruptures that so violently brake out there, but having received the investiture of the Duchy of Normandy, and performed all those rites, he speedily, with his mother Elionor (who must have her part in every act of her Sons) passes over into England, and by way of Election receives the Crowne upon the Ascension day, at the hands of Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, who in his Oration, (as it is recorded in Mat. Par.) before the whole assembly of the State, shewed, That by all reason, divine and humaine, none ought to succeed in the Kingdome, but who should be for the worthinesse of his vertues, universally chosen by the state, as was this man, &c. which then, seemes especially urged in respect his title of succession would not carry it. And the Archbishop afterward, upon this point, being questioned, confessed to his friends, That he foresaw this man would, (what blood and mischief soever it should cost) in the end obtaine the Crowne. And therefore the safer way was to pre-

King Johns coronation.

vent

went confusion, that the Land should rather make him King than he make himselfe, and that this election would be some way upon him.

So came Iohn to the Crowne of England which he governed with as great injustice as he gat it, and imbarcked the state and himselfe, in those miserable incombrances, thorow his violences and oppression, as produced desperate effects, and made way to those great alterations in the government which followed. The Queene Mother, a woman of an high and working spirit, was an especiall agent in this preferment of her sonne Iohn, in respect of her owne greatnesse, knowing how she should be more by him, than she could be by her grand-childe Arthur, who had a mother would looke to become Regent here, and so over-shadow her estate, which was a thing not to be endured. Besides, Arthur was a child, borne and bred a stranger, and never shewed unto the Kingdome, so that he had nothing but his right to draw a party, which could not be such (in regard of the danger of the adventure, things standing at they did) that could doe him any great good. Men being content rather to embrace the present, though wrong, with safety, than seeke to establish anothers right, with the hazard of their owne confusion.

England secured to King Iohn.

The State of England secured; King Iohn returns into Normandy upon notice given of the defection wrought in those parts by Phillip the French King, who had given the order of Knight-hood to Arthur, and taken his homage for Anjou, Poitou, Maine, Turcin and also for Normandy (in regard as he pretended) that King Iohn had neglected to come, and doe him homage for the same, as members held of the Crowne of France. King Iohn, not willing upon his new and doubtfull admission to the government to ingulph himselfe into a suddaine Warre, mediates a parley with the King of France, who well understanding the time, and his owne advantages, requires so unreasonable conditions, as King Iohn could not, without great dishonour yeeld unto, and so they fall to the sword. The King of France under pretence of working for Arthur gets for himselfe; which being discovered, Arthur with his mother Constance, are brought (by the perswasion of their chiefe Minister William de la Roche) to commit themselves to the protection of King Iohn, of whom likewise conceiving a suddaine jealousy, (or else informed of his purpose to imprison them) the next night after their coming got secretly away and fled to Angiers. So this young Prince, borne to be crushed betweene these two potent Kings (intending onely their owne ends) gave occasion by leaving them both, to make both his enemies. After many attempts, and little gaine on either side, another treaty is mediated by the Popes Legats, wherein King Iohn buyes his peace upon these yeelding conditions: That Louys, eldest sonne to King Phillip, should marry his Neece Blanch, daughter of Alphonso king of Castile, and have with her in Dowry, the City and Country of Eureux, with sundry Castles in Normandy, and 30000. Markes in silver. Besides, promises, if he died without issue, to leave unto him all his territories in France. And that he would not ayde his Nephew Otho, (lately elected Emperour) against Phillip brother to the late Emperour Henry the sixth, whom the King of France favoured, in opposition of Pope Innocent, who tooke the part of Otho.

1200.

Anno  
Reg. 2.

Prince Arthur and his mother flee to Angiers.

After this peace made, Otho taking it unkindly to be thus forsaken of his Uncle Iohn, sends his two brothers, Henry Duke of Saxony, and William Winton (so titled, for having beene borne at Winchester) to require the City of Eureux and the County of Poitou, and two parts of the Treasure which his Uncle King Richard had bequeathed unto him, besides other moveables; but they come too late, the obligation of blood, and rendring of dues is held to be of an inferiour nature to the present interests of State. To this unkind and

unnaturall

unnaturall act he presently addes another: Repudiates his Wife (daughter to the Earle of Gloucester, alledging consanguinity in the third degree) and marries *Isabell* daughter and inheritrix to the Earle of *Angouleme* fianced before to *Hugh le Brun*, Earle of *March* (a Peere of great estate and alliance in *France*) by consent of King *Richard*, in whose custody she then was. And having finished these distastefull businesses, he returns to give as little contentment into *England*, where he imposes three shillings upon every Plough-land, to discharge the great dowry of 30000. Markes he was to give with his Neece *Blanch*, the collection whereof *Geffery* Archbishop of *Torke* opposes within his Province. For which, and for refusing, upon summons to come unto this late Treaty in *France*, the King causes his Shrieve *James Potern*, to seaze upon all his temporalities. The Archbishop interdicts the whole province of *Torke*, and excommunicates the Shrieve. King *Iohn* shortly after makes a Progressse with his wife Queen *Isabell*, over all the North parts unto *Scotland*, and exacts great fines of offenders in his Forrests. In his passing thorough *Torke-shire*, his brother the Archbishop, refused him wine, and the honour of the bells at *Beverley*, but by the mediatio of foure Bishops, and foure Barons, and a great sum of money, a reconciliation is made betweene them, with promise of reformation of excesses on either part. Vpon Easter day (after his returne from the North) the King againe is crowned at *Canterbury*, and with him *Isabell* his Queen, by the Archbishop *Hubert*. And there are the Earles and Barons of *England* summoned to be ready with horse and armour to passe the Seas with him presently upon *Whitsonde*; but they holding a conference together at *Decesters*, by a generall consent send him word, *That unlesse he would render them their rights and liberties, they would not attend him out of the Kingdome*. The King, saith *Howden*, using ill counsell, required of them their Castles, and begins with *William de Auben*, demanded to have his Castle of *Beauoyr*: *William* delivers his sonne in pledge, but kept his Castle. Notwithstanding this refusall of the Lords, having taken order for the government, he passes over with his Queen into *Normandy*, where his presence, with the great shew of his preparations, caused the revolvers to forbear their enterprizes for that time; and a farther ratification, with as strong covenants, and cautious as could be devised, is made of the agreements with King *Phillip* of *France*, who Feasts the King of *England* and his Queene at *Paris*, with all complements of amity.

And here both Kings, solicited by the Popes Legat grant a Subsidy of the fortieth part of all their Subjects revenues for one yeare (by way of Almes) to succour the holy Land. For the leavying whereof in *England*, *Geffery Fitz Peter* chiefe Iusticiar sends out his Writs by way of request and perswasion, and not as of due or coercion, to avoyd example.

But many moneths passed not, ere a new Conspiricy brake out by the instigation of *Hugh le Brun*, who stung with the rapture of his wife (a wrong of the most sensible touch in nature) combines with *Arthur*, the Barons of *Poitou* & *Brittain*, & raised a strong side, which the King of *France* (notwithstanding all those tyes wherein he stood engaged to the King of *England*) betakes himselfe unto, in regard of his owne interests and advantages, from which no bands could with-hold him; and againe both these Kings are in Armes. The King of *France* declares himselfe for *Arthur*, to whom hee marries his youngest daughter: requies King *Iohn* to deliver up unto him all his territories in *France*, and by a peremptory day summons him to appeare personally at *Paris* to answer what should be layd to his charge, and abide the Arrest of his Court, which King *Iohn* refusing, was by sentence adjudged to lose all he held of that Crowne.

Then

King Iohn  
puts away his  
Wife.

1201

Anno

Reg. 3.

An imposition  
of three shil.  
upon every  
plough-land.

His second  
coronation.

1201.

Anno

Reg. 4.



He takes his  
Nephew Ar-  
thur prisoner.

Arthur mur-  
dered.

1203.  
*Anno*  
*Reg. 5.*

King Iohn  
fines the Ba-  
rons.

1205.  
*Anno*  
*Reg. 7.*  
A Parliament  
at Oxford.

1206.  
*Anno*  
*Reg. 8.*

Then is he assailed on one side by the King of France in Normandy, on the other by Arthur, and the Barons of Anjou, who lay siege to Mirabel, defended by Elienor the Queene mother, and were upon the point of taking it; when King Iohn, with greater expedition and force than was expected, came and defeated the whole Army in the assaillants, tooke Prisoner the Earle Arthur, Hugh le Brun with the Barons of Poitou, and above 200. Knights, and men of command, all which he carried away bound in Carts, and dispersed into divers Castles both of Normandy and England.

This victory, which might seeme enough to have established his estate, undid him; for by the ill using thereof he lost himselfe, and his reputation for ever. Arthur is shortly after murdered in prison, and the deede layd to his charge, which, with the cruell execution of many his Prisoners and Ostages, so exasperates the Nobility of Brittain, Anjou, and Poitou, as they all take Armes against him, and summoned he is to answer in the Court of Iustice, of the King of France, to whom they appeale: which, he refusing, is condemned both to lose the Duchy of Normandy (which his Ancestors had held by the space of 300. yeares) and all his other Provinces in France, whereof the next yeare after, either through his negligence, being (as they write) given over to the pleasures of his young wife, or by the revolt of his own Ministers (incensed likewise against him) he became wholly dispossessed.

And in this disastrous estate, he returnes into England, and charges the Earles and Barons, with the reproch of his losses in France, and fines them to pay the seaventh part of all their goods for refusing him ayde. Neyther spared he the Church, or the commons in this imposition, of which rapine (saith Mat. Par.) were executors, Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury for the Clergy, and Geffery Fitz Peter, Iusticiar of England for the Laity. But all this treasure collected, amounted not to answer his want, or the furnishing of fresh supplies for the recovery of his losses (for which he urges the same to be raysed) and therefore againe in lesse than the space of a yeare, another leavy (but by a fairer way) is made. A Parliament is convoked at Oxford, wherein is granted two Marks and a halfe of every Knights fee for military ayde: neither departed the Clergy from thence, till they had likewise promised their part. No sooner is this money gathered, but a way is opened, into that all-devouring Gulphe of France to issue it, through a revolt begun in Brittain, by Guido (now husband to Constance, mother of Arthur) Saveri de Malleon, and Almeric Lusignan, Confederates with many others; who receiving not that satisfaction, expected from their new Master, call in their old againe, to shew us, that mens private interests, howsoever Honour and Iustice are pretended, onely sway their affections, in such actions as these.

And over hastes King Iohn, and by the power he brought, and what he found there, wonne the strong Castle of Mont Alban, and after the City of Angiers; and was in a faire way to have recovered more, but that the King of France, by the fortune of one day, (wherein he overthrew and tooke prisoners the chiefe confederates Guido, Almeric, and Saveri) forced him to take truce for two yeares, and returne into England for more supplies.

And here another imposition is laid of the thirteenth part of all moveables, and other goods both of the Clergy and Layety: who now seeing their substances thus consumed without successe, & likely ever to be made payable to the Kings desperate courses, begin to cast for the recovery of their ancient immunities, which upon their former sufferance had bene usurped by their late Kings, and to ease themselves of these burthens indirectly layde upon them. And the first man that opposed the collection of this imposition, was againe the

the Archbishop of *Yorke*, who solemnly accursed the receivers thereof within his Province, and secretly conveyed himselfe out of the Kingdome, desirous rather to live as an exile abroad, than to endure the misery of oppression at home: men accounting themselves lesse injuriously risted in a Wood, than in a place where they presume of safety.

And hence grew the beginning of a miserable breach, betweene a King and his people, being both out of proportion, and dis-joynted in those iust Ligaments of Commaund and obedience that should hold them together, the reducing whereof into due forme and order againe, cost more adoe, and more noble blood; than all the warres forraigne had done since the Conquest. For this contention ceased not (though it often had some faire intermissions) till the great Charter made to keepe the beame right betwixt soveraignty, and subjection (first obtained of King *John*, after, of his sonne *Henry* the third (though observed truly of neyther) was in the maturity of a judicall Prince, *Edward* the first, freely ratified *Anno Reg. 27.* which was above foure score yeares. And was the first civill dissention that ever we finde, since the establishing of the English Kingdome, betweene his King and his Nobles, of this nature. For the better knowledge whereof, wee are to take a view of the face of those time, the better to judge of the occasions given and taken of these turbulencies.

It was this time, about 130. yeares since *William* the first had heere planted the *Norman* Nobility, whose issue being now become meere English, were growne to be of great numbers, of great meanes, and great spirits, ever exercised in the Warres of *France*, where most of them were commanders of Castles, or owners of other Estates, besides what they held in *England*; and being by this violent and unsuccessfull King shut out from action, and their meanes abroad, they praesise to preserve what was left, and to make themselves as much as they could at home. Which, by their martiall freedome, and the priviledges of the Kingdom (necessity now driving them to look into it) they more boldly presume to attempt, in regard they saw themselves, and the Kingdome brought to be perpetually harassed at the Kings will, and that violence and corruption hath no faculty to prescribe upon them: wherein their cause was much better than their prosecution. For whilst they strive to recover what they had lost, and the King to keepe what he by advantage of time and sufferance had gotten, many unjust and insolent courses are used on eyther side, which leave their staine to posterity, and make foule the memory of those times. We can excuse no part herein, all was ill, and out of order. A diseased head first made a distempered body, which being not to be recovered apart, rendred the sicknesse so long and tedious as it was. Besides, the strange corruption of the season concurred, to adde to this mischief; an ambitious Clergy polluted with avarice, brought Piety in shew to be a presumptive party herein, and takes advantages upon the weaknesse they found, for which, the *Roman* Church heares ill to this day. And the occasion of their interposition in this businesse began about the election of a new Archbishop of *Canterbury* (*Hubert* being lately dead) which the Monks of that Covent had made secretly in the night, of one *Riginald* their Subprior; to prevent the King whom they would not, should have a hand in the busines, which they pretended to appertaine freely to themselves by their ancient priviledges. And this *Reiginald* (thus elected) they instantly dispatch towards *Rome*, taking his oath of secrecie before hand. But the fulnesse of his joy burst open that locke, and out comes the report of his advancement, upon his landing in *Flanders*; which the Monkes hearing, and fearing what would follow,

The cause of the breach betweene the King and his people.

1207.  
*Anno*  
*Reg. 9.*

*Reginald* first chosen Archbishop by the Monkes.

send

send to the King to crave leave to elect a fit man for that See. The King nominates unto them *Iohn Gray* Bishop of *Norwich*, whom he especially favoured, & perswaded them (upon great promises of their good) to preferre the Kings desire is propounded to the Covent, and after much debate, is *Iohn Gray* advanced to the Chayre.

Wherein their last error (saith *Mat. Par.*) was worse than their first, and began that discord, which after proved an irreparable damage to the Kingdome.

The King sends to Rome certaine of the Monkes of *Canterbury* (amongst whom was one *Helias de Brandfield*, a most trusty servant of his) with bountifull allowance, to obtaine the Popes confirmation of this Election. And about the same time likewise send the Bishops suffragans (of the Church of *Canterbury*) their complaints to the Pope against the Monkes, for presuming to make election without their assistance, as by right and custome they ought: Alledging examples of three Archbishops so elected. The Monkes oppose this allegation, offering to bring prooffe that they onely, by the speciall privilege of the Roman Bishops, were accustomed to make this election. The Pope appoints a peremptory day, for deciding this Controversie; wherein the first election for being made in the night, out of due time, and without solemne ceremony, is oppugned by the Kings procurators: The last was urged by some of the Monkes, to be ill, by reason there was no cassation of the first, which iust or unjust, ought to have beene, before any other election, could juridically be made.

The Pope seeing the procurators not to agree upon one person, by the Councell of the Cardinalls adjudged both elections voyd, and presents unto them a third man, which was *Stephen de Lancton*, a Cardinall of great spirit, and an English man borne, who had all the voyces of those Monkes which were there, through the perswasion of the Pope, alledging it was in their power by his prerogative to make good this choyce.

*Stephen Lancton* thus elected, and after consecrated at *Viterbo*, the Pope dismissed the Monkes and the rest of the Agents with Letters to King *Iohn*, exhorting him, benignly to receive this Archbishop Canonically elected, native of this Kingdome, learned in all the Sciences, a Doctor of Theology; and, which exceeded his learning, of a good life and conversation: a man fit, both for his body and his soule, &c. Withall he writes to the Prior, and Monkes of *Canterbury*, charging them by the vertue of holy obedience to receive the Archbishop to their Pastor, and humbly to obey him in all Spirituall and Temporall matters.

These letters, with the notice of what was done at Rome, so enraged the King, as with all precipitation he sends *Fulke de Cantie*, and *Henry de Cornhill*, two fierce Knights, with armed men, to expell the Monkes of *Canterbury*, as Traytors, out of the Kingdome, and to seaze upon all they had; which presently was as violently executed as commaunded, and away packe the Prior and all the Monkes into *Flanders* (except such as were sicke and not able to goe) and all their goods confiscated.

Herewithall he writes a sharpe letter to the Pope, accusing him of the wrong he did in casting the election of *Norwich*, whom he especiall favoured, and advancing *Stephen Lancton*, a man unknown to him, bred ever in the kingdom of France and among his enemies; and what was more to his prejudice, and subversion of the liberties appertaining to his crown, without his consent (given to the Monks) which should first have bin required, he had presumed rashly to prefer him: so that he much merwailed that the Pope and the universall Court of Rome, would not call to minde how necessary his friendship had hitherto bin to that Sea; & consider that the kingdome of England yielded the same greater profit, and commodity, than all the kingdomes

Innocent the fourth.

*Stephen Lancton* Elected Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

King *Iohn* offended with this election, writes to the Pope.



domes else on this side the Alpes. Besides, that he would stand for the liberty of his Crowne to the death: constantly affirming, that he could not be revoked from the Election and preferment of the Bishop of Norwich, whom he knew every way fit for the place. And in conclusion threatens, That if hee be not righted in the premises, hee would stop up the passages of his people to Rome; and that if necessity required, he had in the Kingdome of England, and other his Dominions Archbishops, Bishops, and other relates of so sufficient learning, as they needed not to begge justice, and judgement of strangers. The Pope returns answer to the Kings Letter, and begins with these words, When about the businesse of the Church of Canterbury, wee wrote unto you, exhorting and requesting you humbly, earnestly, and benignely, you againe wrote back to us, (as I say, by your leave) in a fashion threatening, reprovng, contumacious, and very stubbornly; and whilest wee tooke care to give you above your right, you regard not to give us according to our right, respecting us lesse than becomes you. And if your devotion be most necessary for us, so is ours no lesse fit for you. When wee, in such a case have honoured no Prince so much as you, you sticke not to derogate from our honour, more than any Prince in such a case would have done: pretending certaine frivolous occasions, whercin you allcadge that you cannot consent to the election of our beloved son Mr. Stephen Presbyter by the title of Saint Chrysogonus Cardinall, celebrated by the Monkes of Canterbury; for that hee hath beene bred amongst your enemies, and his person is altogether unknowne to you. Then argues he, That it was not to be imputed unto him for a fault, but was his glory to have lived long at Paris, where he so profited in studie, as he deserved to be Doctor, not only in the liberall Sciences, but also in Theologie; & his life agreeable to his learning was thought fit to obtaine a Prebend in Paris. Wherefore hee held it a marveile if a man of so great note, native of England, could be unknown unto him, at least in fame, since (saith he) you wrote thrice unto him after hee was by us preferred to be Cardinall, that though you had a desire to call him to your familiar attendance, yet you rejoiced that he was exalted to a higher Office, &c.

Then excuses he the poynt, that the Kings consent was not required, in regard that they who should have required the same, affirmed how their letters never came to his hands, &c. Although (saith he) in elections celebrated at the Apostolick See, the consent of Princes is not to be expected, yet were two Monkes deputed to come to require your consent, who were stayed at Dover, so that they could not performe their message imoynd them: with other allegations to this effect, so that at length (saith hee) we were disposed to doe what the Canonickall Sanctions ordained to be done, without declining either to the right hand or to the left, that there might bee no delay or difficulty in right intentions, lest the Lords flocke should bee long without pastorall cure; and therefore revoked it cannot bee. In conclusion hee useth these words, As wee have had care of your Honour beyond right, endeavour to give us ours according unto right, that you may more plentifully deserve Gods grace, and ours, lest if you doe otherwise; you cast your selfe into those difficulties, whence you cannot easily get out: Since hee in the end must overcome, to whom all knees bow in Heaven, Earth and Hell; whose Vicegerencie heere below (though unworthy) wee exercise. Yeeld not therefore to their counsells, who desire your disturbance, that themselves might fish in troubled waters; but commit your selfe to our pleasure, which will redound to your Praise, Glorie, and Honour. Neither is it safe for you to repagne against God and the Church, for which, the blessed Martyr and glorious Bishop Thomas lately shedde his blood, especially since your Father and Brother of cleere memory, late Kings of England, have in the hands of the Legates of the Apostolick See, abjured that

*impious Custome. We, if you acquite your selfe, will sufficiently take care for you and yours, that no prejudice shall arise unto you hereby. Dated at Lateran the 10 yeare of our Pontificat.*

The Popes  
Mandate to  
the Bishops

Thus we see how these two mighty powers strive to make good each others prerogative, and defend their interests with words. But when the Pope understood how the King of England had proceeded against the Church of Canterbury, he sends presently his mandate to the Bishops of London, Eley, and Worcester, to deale with the King by way of exhortation, to reforme himselfe; and if they found him still contumacious, they should interdict the whole kingdome of England. If that would not correct him, then himselfe would lay a severe hand upon him; and withall charged the Bishops Suffragans of the Church of Canterbury, by vertue of their obedience, to receive for Father the Archbishop Stephen, and to obey him with all respect. The Bishops as they were enjoined, repaire to the King, shew the Popes Mandate, and with teares besought him, *As he had God before his eyes, to call home the Archbishop, and the Monkes of Canterbury to their Church, and vouchsafe to use them with honour and charitie, thereby to avoyde the scandall of interdiction, &c.*

King Iohns  
answer to the  
Bishops.

The King interrupting the Bishops speech, breakes out into violent rage against the Pope and the Cardinall, swearing by the teeth of God, *That if they or any other should dare to put the kingdome under interdiction, hee would presently send all the Clergy of England to the Pope, and confiscate their goods. Besides, If any of Rome were found within any part of his Land, hee would cause their eyes to be put out, their noses cut, and so sent home, that by these markes they might be knowne of other Nations.* Charging moreover the Bishops presently to avoyde his presence, *as they would avoyde their owne danger.*

1208.  
Anno  
Reg. 11.

Of this their ill satisfaction, the Bishop certifies the Pope; and shortly after the whole kingdome of England is interdicted: all Ecclesiasticall Sacraments cease, except Confession, Extreame Vnction, and Baptisme of Children. The dead are carried out, and put into the earth without Priest or prayer. The Bishops of London, Eley, Worcester, Bathe, and Hereford secretly get out of the kingdome.

To answer this violence with the like, the King sends presently his Sherifes and other his Ministers, to command all Prelates and their servants, forthwith to depart out of the kingdome; deputes the Bishopricks, Abbeyes, & Priories into the hands of Lay-men, confiscating all their revenues; but the Prelates themselves get into Monasteries, and would not out, except expelled by force: which the officers would not doe, having no Commission for the same, but they seize on all their goods to the Kings use.

Here the Monasticall Writers of that time (by whom onely we have notice of these proceedings) aggravate the rigorous course taken in this busines, telling us, that religious men of what order soever, found travailing, were pulled from their horses, robbed, and vily treated by the Kings servants, and none to doe them justice. And how the servants of a Sherife bringing bound unto the King a theefe (who had robbed and killed a Priest) to know what should be done with him: the King said, *Loose him and let him goe, hee hath killed our enemy.* But howsoever this were, there were Excesses too many committed in a time so untied as this was.

The King  
takes pledges  
of his Nobles  
for their fidel-  
ity.

The King to prevent the defection of his Subjects, which he daily doubted would follow upon this his breach with the Church, sends with a military power, to all the potent men of the kingdome, to require pledges for the assurance of their fidelity. wherein many of them satisfied the kings will, sending some

some their sonnes, some their nephewes, other the neereſt of their kinde. *William de Brause* a Noble-man being required to deliver his pledge, his wife preventing her husbands answer, tels the Commissioners, *That the King ſhould have none of her ſons to keepe, that was ſo ill a keeper of his owne brothers ſon, Arthur;* for which Iuddaine & intemperate ſpeech, the Baron ſharply reprehending his wife before the Kings ſervants, told them, he was ready if he had offended, to ſatiſſie the King, without any pledge, according to the judgment of his Court, or that of his Peeres, at any time or place whereſoever.

Vpon the report of this answer, the King ſends downe privily to apprehend the Baron, but he having notice, or doubting what would follow, fled with his wife and children into *Ireland*; where, afterward this afflicted Lady to recover mercy of the King, is ſaid, to have ſent *Queene Iſabel* foure hundred Kine, and a Bull, which yet could not mediate her pardon, or pacifie his wrath. But in the end ſhee was there taken with her two ſonnes (the husband eſcaping into *France*) and ſent priſoner to the Caſtle of *Windsor*, where ſhee with her two innocent children were ſhamiſhed to death; ſo deerly paid ſhee for the offence of her raſh tongue.

The King diſpleaſed with the *Londoners*, removed his Exchequer to *Northampton*, and with a great Army marches towards *Scotland*, to make warre upon that King for receiving his enemies, and ayding them againſt him. But by mediation an accord is made, in this ſort, that the King of *Scots* ſhould pay eleven thouſand Markes of ſilver, and deliver up his two daughters pledges for ſecuring the peace. Returning back, he cauſed all incloſures within his Forreſts to be laid open, a worke of great grieve to his ſubjects; whom, though in nothing he ſought to ſatiſſie, yet ſeekes he what he may to faſten them in their obedience (whereof love and not rigour is the ſureſt bond) and takes homage of all free Tenants, yea even of children of twelve yeares of age, throughout the kingdome.

Two yeares, to the great diſtraction of the State, the interdiction held, when the Pope, ſeeing no yeelding in the King, procedes to the excommunication of his perſon, that extreame courſe of abſciſſion, which his predeceſſor *Alexander*, better adviſed, forbore to take, upon a ſuggeſtion of a more heynous act committed by *Henry* the ſecond, upon the perſon of *Thomas Becket*; and by this violence, thinking to quaille the heart of a moſt unmaſterable King, put him into more deſperate rage with the Clergy, who notwithstanding the Popes mandate, durſt not execute the ſame for many dayes after. And firſt one *Geffery* Archdeacon of *Norwich*, ſerving in the Kings Exchequer, conferring with the reſt of his Aſſiſtants about this Sentence, affirmed, it was not ſafe for men beneficed to remaine in the obedience of an excommunicated King; and ſo without leave retired himſelfe home, & was the firſt ſubject of his Maſters wrath. Who preſently ſent Sir *William Talbot* with force to apprehend him, and lay him faſt in fetters in a moſt ſtreight priſon, and afterward, upon the Kings commandement, he was put into a ſheete of Lead, wherein, with the weight and want of victualls he ſoone periſhed.

This Excommunication of the King of *England*, was accompanied the ſame yeare with that of the Emperour *Otho* his Nephew, and are noted to be ſtaines of an unjuſt nature, eſpecially for being both done in caſes of the Popes owne particular intereſt, ſeeking to extend a predominance beyond the bounds allowed unto piety, which was only to deale with mens ſoules, and not their eſtates. For in the advancement of this Emperour *Otho* the third, the Pope had an eſpeciall hand, oppoſing, for his owne ends the election of *Philip* ſonne to the Emperour *Frederick Barbaroſſa*. And in the vacancie of the Empire had ſeized

His cruelty ſhewed to the wife and children of *William de Brause*.

The Exchequer removed to *Northampton*.

King *Iohn* excommunicated.

The Archdeacon of *Norwich* ſorſakes the Kings ſervice, his torture & death.

The Emperour *Otho* excommunicated.



upon certaine peeces in *Italy* appertaining thereunto; which, *Otho* seeking to revoke, procured undeservedly the Popes displeasure, who sent unto him divers messages, willing him to desist both from the prosecution of this recovery, as also from that which *Frederick* King of *Sicily* (who was under the tuition of the Apostolick See) had seized upon.

The Emperour is said to have answered the Popes Nuncii in this manner: *If the Pope unjustly desires to usurpe what appertaines to the Empire, let him absolve me from the oath he caused me to take at my coronation; which was, That I should revoke whatsoever rights were distracted from the same; and I will desist.* But the Pope refusing the one, and the Emperour not yeelding unto the other, the sentence of Excommunication is pronounced against him. And all the States, as well of *Germany* as the rest of the Roman Empire, are absolved of their fealty unto him. Thus were these two mighty Princes, the greatest of all the Christian world, left to the mercie of their subjects; who, though they were by this meanes all untied from obedience, yet many were not so from their affections, or other obligations that held them firme unto their Sovereignes. For there are so many ligaments in a State that tie it together, as it is a hard thing to dissolve them altogether, unlesse it be by an universall concurrencie of causes that produceth a generall alteration thereof. And it is seldome scene of what temper soever Kings are, but they find an eminent party in the greatest defection of their people. As this King (the first of *England*, we find put to this straight, had yet many noble members of power, besides the chief Officers of the kingdome (whom their places confirm) that stuck unto him, whose names are recorded in *Mat. Par.* and other Writers.

And the better to hold his reputation, & his people in action, having now no employment abroad, he seekes to secure all other members of the Crown of *England*, which were under his dominion. And having ransackt great Treasure from the *Iewes*, makes an expedition into *Ireland*, upon intelligence of some revolt and disorder there. And at his first arrivall, all the great men which held the maritime Castles and the Champion Countries came in, and did homage and fealty unto him at *Dublin*: such as inhabited the remote parts, and fastnesses of the kingdome, kept themselves away, and refused to come. Here to reduce the Countrey into better order, he ordaines the same to be governed by the Lawes and Customes of *England*, causes *English* money to be coyned there; and to be of equall value with that of this kingdome, and currant alike in both: with many other orders, which had they bin with that care continued as they were advisedly begun, would (as wise men deem) have settled that kingdome in an intire obedience, and saved all that great toyle and expence, which the neglect thereof cost this State in succeeding ages. And now having deputed *Iohn Gray* Bishop of *Norwich*, Iusticier there, after onely three moneths stay, he returns into *England*, where presuming now upon his new gathered strength, he summons all the Prelats of the kingdome to appeare before him at *London*; of whom, saith *Mat. Par.* he extorted for their redemption, the summe of an hundred thousand pound sterling.

And the next yeare, being the twelfth of his reigne, with this Treasure hee reduces *Wales* (that had rebelled) to his obedience, and takes eight and twenty children of the best families for pledges of their future subjection. Returning thence, exacts of every Knight that attended not his Army in that expedition, two Markes; and at *Northampton* is pleased to receive the Popes Agents, *Pandolphus* and *Durandus* (sent to make peace betweene the kingdome and Priesthood) by whose exhortation, and the consideration of the State of his kingdome, he consented that the Archbishop and the Monkes

1210.

Anno  
Reg. 12King Iohn re-  
forms IrelandThe Clergy  
pay to the king  
100000 l. ster.

1211.

Anno  
Reg. 13.

Monkes of *Canterbury*, with all the exiled Bishops, should in peace returne to their owne. But refusing to make satisfaction for their goods confiscated, the Agents depart unsatisfied, to the greater prejudice of the King; whom now the Pope finding, to bee yeelding in any thing, falls to be more imperious to constraîne him to all whatsoever hee desired: And absolves all the Kings subjects of what condition soever from their obedience, strictly forbidding them, under paine of excommunication, his Boord, Counsell, and Conference. Which notwithstanding prevailed not to divert the Subjects from the service of their King. Who about this time takes occasion, upon the breaking out of certaine poore Mountainers of *Wales*, that made pillage upon the Borders, to raise another Army to invade the whole Countrey. And being at *Nottingham*, prepared for this action (before hee would sit downe to dinner) caused those eight and twenty children, the innocent pledges of the *Welch*, to be all hanged in his presence. But before hee had dined, Letters came that gave him intelligence of a conspiracie intended for his owne destruction; and that if he went forward in this Warre, hee would be either slaine of his owne people, or betrayed to the enemy. Whereupon he returnes to *London*, againe requires, and hath pledges of those Nobles hee suspected, and here *Eustace de Vesey*, & *Robert Fitz-Walter* are accused of the conspiracie, who fled, the one into *Scotland*, the other into *France*.

But now the Pope, for the last and greatest sentence that ever yet was given against any Sovereigne King of this kingdome, pronounces his absolute deposition from the Royall government thereof; and writes to the King of *France*, that as he looked to have remission of his sins, he should take the charge upon him, and expell King Iohn out of the kingdome of England, and possesse the same for him, and his heires for ever. To the same effect sends hee likewise his Letters to the Princes, and great men of other Nations, That they should aide the King of *France* in the dejection of this contumacious King of England, in revenge of the injuries done to the *Kinnershall Church*; granting like remission of their sinnes, as if they undertooke the holy Warre.

And with this Commission is the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the other exiled Bishops of *England* with *Pandolphus*, dispatched to the King of *France* for the execution thereof. Which, notwithstanding, seemes rather done to terrifie King Iohn, than any way to advance the King of *France*, whom the Pope desired not to make greater than he was: howsoever, to amuse the world, he made shew to ingage him in this businesse. For he gave a secret charge to *Pandolphus* apart, that if upon the preparation, and forces gathered by the King of *France* for this dejection, he could worke the King of England to such conditions as he should propound, absolution and restorment should be granted unto him.

The King of *France*, upon this act of the Pope, and the sollicitation of his Ministers, commands all the Princes and Nobility within his Dominions, to assemble their forces with Horse, Armour, and all Munition, to assist him in this businesse, and be ready, under paine of exheredation, at the Spring of the yeare: preparing likewise a great Navy for the transportation of these forces into England. King Iohn, upon intelligence hereof, sends to all the ports of his kingdome commandement, to have all shipping whatsoever possible to be made ready with all expedition: Summoning likewise all Barles, Rayons, Knights, and who else could beare Armes of any condition, to be ready at *Dover* presently upon Easter, furnished with Horse, Armour, and all militarie provision to defend him, themselves, and the Kingdome of England against this intended Invasion, under paine of Culvertage, and perpetuall servitude.

1212.  
Anno  
Reg. 14.

1213  
Anno  
Reg. 15.

The Pope gives the kingdome of England to the King of France

The King of France assembles his forces for England.

King Iohns preparations for defence.

Whereupon so great numbers resorted to *Dover*, *Feverham*, *Ipswich*, and to other places suspected, as exceeded the meanes both of furnishment, and provision to entertaine them. So that multitudes were sent home againe of unnecessary men, and onely a choyse reserved of the abler sort, which arose to the number of sixty thousand well appointed for battell. Besides, so mighty a Navy was made ready, as exceeded that of *France*.

And thus prepared, King *Iohn* expects his enemies, who secretly two Knights, Templars, sent by *Pandolphus*, so wrought with him, as notwithstanding all this great power of his, hee descends to accept of a treaty with him. Whereof *Pandolphus* is presently advertised, and withdrawes himselfe out of the *French Kings* Army, comes over, and so terrifies King *Iohn*, with the mighty forces bent against him, & the eminent danger wherein he stood, as hee yeelds to any conditions whatsoever propounded unto him. And not onely grants restitution and satisfaction of what ever had beene taken from the Archbishop, and the Monkes of *Canterbury*; the Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, *Bath*, and *Lincolne*; (who were fled to the Archbishop) but also layes down his Crowne, Scepter, Mantle, Sword, and Ring, the ensignes of his Royalty, at the feete of *Pandolphus*, delivering up therewithall the Kingdome of *England* to the Pope, and submits himselfe to the judgement and mercy of the Church.

Two dayes (some write fixe) it was before the Legate restored him his Crowne: at the receiving whereof, he swore (and his Earles undertaking for him) that hee and his successours should hold the Kingdome of *England*, and Lordship of *Ireland*, from the Sea of *Rome*, at the annuall tribute of a thousand Markes of Silver. And this, with his homage and fealty, hee confirmed by his Charter at a house of the Templars, neere *Dover*. The especiall weigths that moved King *Iohn* to this extreame lownesse, they of those times note to be. First, the consideration of his offences to God, having lived five yeares excommunicated, to the great deformity of his kingdome. Secondly, the greatnesse of his enemy the King of *France*, and his adherence. Thirdly, the doubtfull faith of his Nobilities, whom he had offended. Fourthly, for that the *Ascension* day was at hand; after which, one *Peter* a Hermit and Southsayer had prophesied, hee should bee no more King of *England*. Which, though mistaken in the manner, was fulfilled in a sort by this resignation, and a new condition of Estate. But the Southsayer with his sonne, suffered shortly after the penalty of death, for his otherwise interpreted divination.

Now, notwithstanding this act and submission of King *Iohn*, the interdiction of the kingdome continues, and his owne absolution deferred, till restitution and full satisfaction were performed to the Clergie; of which, eight thousand Markes of silver was presently delivered to *Pandolphus*; who at the receiving thereof, tramples it under his feete, as contemning that base matter, in respect of the grace conferred upon the Transgressor; and returns with the same into *France*. Where he declares what had passed in *England*, and forbids the King of *France* upon paine of excommunication, to proceed any further in this enterprise, seeing King *Iohn* had thus submitted himselfe to the Church.

The King of *France*, now all in readinesse for this great invasion, and full with hope of Victory, receiving this suddain and unexpected message, grew into great rage, and was, in regard of his honour, and infinite charge, hardly diverted from this enterprise. Yet in the end, seeing his confederates and followers quailed with this menace of the Church, extremely discontent, hee gives it over.

King *Iohn* delivers up the kingdome of *England* with his Crowne to *Pandolphus*.

The causes that moved King *Iohn* to this act.

*Pandolphus* forbids the *French Kings* proceeding.

The King of *France* forbids the King of *France* upon paine of excommunication, to proceed any further in this enterprise, seeing King *Iohn* had thus submitted himselfe to the Church.

The King of *France*, now all in readinesse for this great invasion, and full with hope of Victory, receiving this suddain and unexpected message, grew into great rage, and was, in regard of his honour, and infinite charge, hardly diverted from this enterprise.



Notwithstanding, for his owne reputation and desire of revenge, having all these great forces on foote, and his Navy ready in the mouth of *Seine*, would undertake something to give satisfaction both to the Adventurers, and his owne people interested in this action. And for that, *Ferrand* Earle of *Flanders*, adhering to King *Iohn*, refused to follow him in this expedition, on him he falls (as being next him) enters into his Port of *Dam*, vowing that *Flanders* should either be France or France *Flanders*. *Ferrand*, seeing this tempest come to light upon him, sends for ayde to King *Iohn*, who glad, having escaped at home the occasion of a defensive Warre, to enter into an offensive abroad, both to employ this great collected Navy of his, and also put his people in action, whose dismissal without some satisfaction, hee knew would breed no safe humour, dispatches five hundred Sayle, with seven hundred Knights into *Flanders*, under the conduct of his base brother *William Long-sword*, Earle of *Salisbury*, *Reginald* Earle of *Bulog*n, whom hee had lately entertained with a pension, being for some demerit driven out of *France*. And these arriving at the Port of *Dam*, where they found the French Navy unorderly dispersed, and without defence (their forces going out to invade the Countrey) set upon, and utterly defeated the same, and afterward joyning their power with that of *Ferrand*, drave the King of *France* home with great dishonour, and exceeding losse.

The French King sets upon *Flanders*.

King *Iohn* raised with this victory, and his peace with the Church, sets upon great designs, taking opportunity of this disaster of the King of *France*, whom, in revenge of his injury, and hope of recovering his transmarine Dominions, he plots to assaile on all sides: stirring up his Nephew *Otho* to ayde the Earle of *Flanders*, for an invasion upon the East part, whilst himselfe with all his power should enter upon the West. For execution whereof, first hee sends supplies for treasure to his Chieftaines in *Flanders*, then assembles a great Army at *Portsmouth*, wherewith hee resolves to passe the Seas.

But his designe contrary to his desire and haste, came to be delayed by the withdrawing of his Nobility, who refused to ayde or attend him, untill hee were absolved, and had confirmed unto them their liberties: wherewith much enraged, seeing no other remedy, hee speedily sends for the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the other Bishops which were yet in *France*, promising them present restitution and satisfaction, under the hands and seales of foure and twenty Earles and Barons, undertaking for the performance thereof, according to the forme of his Charter granted in this behalfe. *Pandolphus* with the Bishop and the rest of the exiled Clergy, forthwith come over, and finde the King at *Winchester*, where he goeth forth to meete them, and on his knees with teares receives them, beseeching them to have compassion on him, and the Kingdome of England. Absolved he is with great penitence and compassion exprest with teares of all the beholders, and swears upon the Evangelists, to love, defend, and maintaine holy Church, and the Ministers thereof, against their adversaries to the uttermost of his power: That he would renew the good Lawes of his Predecessors, and especially those of King *Edward*, abrogating such as were unjust: Iudge all his subjects according to the just judgement of his Court: That presently upon Easter next following hee would make plenary satisfaction of whatsoever had beene taken from the Church.

The Nobility refused to ayde King *Iohn*.

Which done, hee returns to *Portsmouth*, with intention to passe over into *France*, committing the government of the kingdome to *Geffery Fitz Peter*, & the Bishop of *Winchester*, with charge that they should order all busineses, together with the counsell of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

1214.  
Anno.  
Reg. 16

And here a numerous company of souldiers repairing to him, complained that by their long attendance their money was spent, so that they could not follow him, unless they might be supplied out of his Exchequer: Which the King refusing to doe, in a great rage, with his private family, takes ship, and puts forth to the Isle of Iersey; but seeing none of his Nobles or other to follow him, was forced (having lost the opportunity of the season) to returne into England; where he gathers an Army, with intention to chastise the Lords who had thus forsaken him. But the Archbishop of Canterbury followes him to Northampton, *Prising, that it was against his Oath taken at his absolution, to proceede in that manner against any man, without the judgement of his Court.* To whom the King in great passion replied, *That he would not deferre the businesse of the kingdome for his pleasure, seeing Lay judgement appertained not unto him;* and so in fury marches to Nottingham.

The Archbishop followes him, and plainly told him, *That unlesse hee would desist from this businesse, he would excommunicate all such as should take Armes against any before the releasing of the interdiction;* and would not leave him, until he had obtained a convenient day for the Lords to come to his Court, which shortly after they did, and a Parliament is assembled in Paules, where in the Archbishop of Canterbury produces a Charter of King Henry the first, whereby he granted the ancient liberties of the kingdome of England (which had by his predecessours beene oppressed with unjust exactions) according to the Lawes of King Edward, with those emendations which his Father, by the counsell of his Barons did ratifie. And this Charter being read before the Barons they much rejoyced, and swore in the presence of the Archbishop, *that for these liberties they would if need required, spend their blood.* And therewithall, concluding a confederation with the Archbishop, the Parliament brake up.

Shortly after dyes Geffery Fitz Peter, Iusticiar of England, a man of a generous spirit, learned in the Lawes, and skilfull in government. Who in that brokentime, only held uncrased, performing the part of an even Counsellour and Officer betweene the King and kingdome; whom though the King most used, he most feared and least loved; as ill Princes doe their worthiest Ministers, whose gravity and judgement may seeme to keepe them in awe. And hearing of his death, rejoycing said, Now when he comes into Hell, let him salute the Archbishop Hubert, whom assuredly he shall finde there. And turning to those about him, *swore by the seete of God, that now at length he was King and Lord of England,* having a freer power to untye himselfe from those knots which his oath had made to this great man against his will, and to breake all the bands of the late concluded peace, unto which he repented to have ever condescended. And to shew the desperate malice of this King (who, rather than not to have an absolute domination over his people, to doe what he listed, would be any thing himselfe vnder any other that would but support him in his violences) there is recorded an Embassage (the most base and impious that ever yet was sent by any free and Christian Prince) unto Miramumalim the Moore, intituled the great King of Africa, Morocco, and Spaine, wherein he offered to render unto him his kingdome, and to hold the same by tribute from him, as his Sovereigne Lord: To forgoe the Christian Faith (which he held vaine) and receive that of Mahomet. In which negotiation, the Commissioners are named to be, Thomas Hardington, Ralph Fitz Nicholas Knights, and Robert of London Clerke. The manner of their accessse to this great King is related, with the delivery of their message, and King Iohns Charter to that effect; and how Miramumalim ha-

ving

The Arch-  
bishop threatens  
to excommu-  
nicate the  
King.

This Charter  
is recorded in  
Mat. Par. with  
restes of the  
Subscribers.

*Legem Regis  
Edwardi vobis  
reddo cum illis  
emendationibus  
quibus Pater  
meus ea emen-  
davit.*

Mat. Par.

ving heard at large their message, and the description both of the King and kingdome, with the nature and disposition of the people, so much distained the basenesse and impiety of the offerer, as with scone hee commanded his Ministers to depart instantly out of his presence, and Court. Yet afterward, to understand some more particulars of the madnesse of this King of England, he called for *Robert* the Clerke, & had private conference with him apart, about many particulars which he himselfe revealed to many, in the hearing of *Mathew* the Monke of Saint *Albans*, who wrote and declared these things, describing the person of this *Robert*, to be of a low stature, black, one arme shorter than another, two fingers unnaturally growing together, of a visage like a Jew, &c. which relation we are not utterly to contemne, proceeding from an Author of that gravity and credit, and living so neere those times, though to us that are so farre off both in fashion and faith, it may seeme improbable in some parts; yet if we consider whereto the desperate violence of this King (who had made utter wrack of conscience, and all humane respect) might carry him, seeing himselfe in that estate he was, we may not thinke it voyd of likelihood to have had this dealing with an Heathen King (who, in that time was formidable to all Christendome, and had on foote the mightiest Army that ever the Moores had in *Spaine*) which might either bee to hold amity with him, or entertaine him otherwise for his own ends. Though for the point of offering to forgoe the Christian faith, wee may in charity forbear to make it a part of ours. Although this Relator gives us a note (amongst other which he suppress) that pointed at the irreligion of this King, who at the opening of a fat Stagge, jestingly said, See how prosperously this beast hath lived, and yet never heard Masse. Which scoffe, in regard of the zeale then professed, favoured of an impiety unfitting the mouth of a religious King, and gave scandall to the hearers, who tooke it according to their apprehension, apt to censure whatsoever comes from the mouth of Princes; which may warne them to be wary what they utter in publick.

But this Embassage, either neglected by *Miramumalim*, or disappointed by the overthrow of his great Army, with the death of his Sonne, which shortly after followed; King *Iohn* sets upon another course, assayles Pope *Innocent* (prone to be wrought by gift to doe any thing) with great summes of money, and a re-assurance of his tributary subjection, which shortly after he confirms by a new oath, and a new Charter before the Popes Legate the Bishop of *Tusculum*, sent over for the same purpose, and with full authority to compose the dissensions betweene the Kingdome and Priesthood. Which at many Assemblies in divers places was after debated, and in the end order was taken for a plenary satisfaction to be made for the damages done to the Church. For which the King upon account already, had payed twenty seven thousand Markes, and thirteene thousand more were undertaken by sureties, to be answered by a certaine day.

And hereupon is the interdiction released, having continued fix years, three moneths, and foureteene dayes, to the inestimable losse of the Church and Church-men, whereof an innumerable multitude of all orders now repaire to the Legate for satisfaction of damages received by the Kings Ministers during this interdiction. To whom the Legate answers: That it was not in his Commission to deale for restitution to be made unto them all, but advises them to complaine to the Pope, and crave of him plenary Iustice. Whereupon they depart much discontented, holding the Legates proceeding (for that he pleased not them) inclining only to please the King: Who now is recommended to *Rome* for a most tractable, obedient, and indulgent Sonne

*Miramumalim* scornes the message of King *Iohn*.

A note of the Kings irreligion.

King *Iohn* bribes the Pope and renews his oath.

The interdiction released.

1214.  
Anno  
Reg. 16.



Sonne of the Church, and the Clergy heares of blame for their obstinacie used towards him.

The King having referred the ending of all this controversie to the Legate, and some other of his owne Ministers (being assured of the Popes favour) was now gone into *Poitou*, to assaile (according to his designe) the King of *France* on that side: whilst his forces with those of the Emperour *Otho*, by the way of *Flanders*, invaded him on the other. And being with his Queene landed at *Rebelle*, many principall Barons of *Poitou* (apt to promise than performe their faith) came and swore fealty unto him: With whom hee marches forward into the Countrey, recovers many Castles and peeces of importance. Whereof particularly by his owne Letters from *Parthenay*, hee certifies his Iustices of the Exchequer. And withall, shewes them how he had granted to the Sonne of the Earle of *March*, his daughter *Joan* in marriage, though, said he, the King of *France* desired her for his sonne, but fraudulently, &c.

After this he goes into *Brittaine*, takes in the City of *Nantes*, prepares to encounter with *Louys* the French Kings sonne, who was come downe with a mighty Army to oppose his proceeding. But the *Poitouins* distrusting his power, or he them (having discovered the forces of the enemy) refused to fight: Whereupon the King of *England*, to his extreame griefe, forooke the field, and made a dishonourable truce with the King of *France*; and this was the last of his transmarine attempts. His forces into *Flanders* had farre worse successe; for the King of *France* with all the power he could possibly make, encounters them at the Bridge of *Bouines*, and overthrew the Emperour *Otho*, and the whole Army of the confederates, wherein are reported to have bene an hundred and fifty thousand foote besides horse, and in the battaile slaine a thousand five hundred Knights, and taken prisoners, *Ferrand* Earle of *Flanders*, the Earles of *Salisbury*, and *Bologne*. And (as report the *Annales* of *Flanders*) the Earle of *Sauoy*, the Dukes of *Brabant* and *Limburg*, and the Earle of *Luxemburg*: the Emperour *Otho* the fourth hardly escaped, and lived not long after.

Vpon these misfortunes, & fearing the outrage of a necessitous and distempered King, the Barons of *England* assemble themselves at *S. Edmondsburie*, where they confesse of the late produced Charter of *Henry* the first, and swore upon the high Altar, that if King *Iohn* refused to confirme and restore unto them those liberties, (the rights of the kingdome) they would make war upon him untill he had satisfied them therein: And further agreed, that after Christmas next they would petition him for the same, and in the meane time provide themselves of Horse and Furniture, to be ready if the King should start from his Oath made at *Winchester* at the time of his absolution, for the confirmation of these liberties, and compell him to satisfie their demand. After Christmas they repaire in a military manner to the King lying in the new Temple, urging their desire with great vehemencie: the King seeing their resolution and inclination to war, made answer, That for the matter they required, he would take consideration till after Easter next; and in the meane time, hee tooke upon him the crosse, (rather, as is said, through feare than devotion) supposing himselfe to be more safe under that protection. But the Lords continuing their resolution, foreseeing nothing was to be obtained but by strong hand, assemble an Army at *Stamford*, wherein are said to be two thousand Knights, besides Esquires with those that served on foote, and from thence marched towards *Oxford* where the King then expected their coming, according to the appointed time, for answer to their demands.

And

The famous  
battaile of Bo-  
uines.

The death of  
the Emperour  
Otho.

King Iohn  
takes upon  
him the crosse  
to secure him-  
selfe from the  
Barons.

The resolution  
of the Barons  
assembling  
their Army at  
Stamford.

And being come to *Brackly* with their Army, the King sends the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *William Earle of Pembroke* Mareichall, with other grave Counsellours, to demand of them, what were those Lawes and Liberties they required, to whom they shewed a Schedule of them, which the Commissioners deliver to the King, who having heard them read, in great indignation asked why *The Barons did not likewise demand the kingdome, and swore, that he would never grant those Liberties whereby himselfe should be made a servant.* So harsh a thing is it to a power that hath once gotten out into the wide liberty of his will, to heare againe of any reducing within his circle: not considering how they who inherit Offices succeed in the obligation of them, & that the most certain means to preserve unto a King his kingdomes, is to possesse them with the same conditions that he hath inherited them.

The Barons upon his answer, being as hasty as he was averse, resolve to seize on his Castles, and presently march towards *Northampton*, which they besiege, constituting *Robert Fitz Walter* their Generall, intituling him the *Marschall of the Army of God, and holy Church.* And after they assaile the Castle of *Bedford*, where *William de Beauchamp* rendring his charge, receives them; and the *Londoners* send thither privy message to joyne with them, and deliver up the City to be guarded by their discretion.

And thither they repaire, and are joyfully received, under pact of their indemnity, where daily increasing in number of new confederates, they make their protestation, never to give over the prosecution of their desire, till they had constrained the King (whom they held perjured) to grant them their rights.

King *Iohn* seeing himselfe in a manner generally forsaken, having scarce seven Knights faithfull unto him, counterfeites the Seales of the Bishops, & writes in their names to all Nations, that the *English* were all Apostates, and whosoever would come to invade them, he, by the Popes consent, would conferre upon them all their lands and possessions. But this devise working no effect, in regard of the litle confidence they had in the King, & the power of the kingdome: a new mediation is made to the Barons by the Earle *Marschall* and others, and a parle is had betweene *Windsor* and *Stanes*, in a Meadow called *Running-meade*, (a place anciently used for such conferences) where after many meetings and much debate, the King freely consented, for the glory of God, and emendation of the kingdome, to confirme those lawes & liberties formerly restored, and in part ordained by *Henry* the first.

And to the end that all discord should utterly cease, he grants for the intire and firme enjoying their Lawes and Liberties, Security in this manner: *That there should be five and twenty Barons chosen of the kingdome, such as they would, who should, to their utmost power cause the same to be held and observed. And that, if either the King or his chiefe Iusticiar should transgresse in any Article of the Lawes, and the offence shewed, foure Barons of the five and twenty should come to the King, or in his absence out of the kingdome, to his chiefe Iusticiar, and declare the excessse, requiring without delay, redresse for the same: which if not made within the space of forty dayes after such declaration; those foure Barons should referre the cause to the rest of the five and twenty, who with the Commons of the land might destraine and enforce him by all meanes they could (viz. by seizing upon his Castles, Lands and Possessions or other good) (his person excepted, and that of his Queene & Children) till amends should be made, according to their arbitration. And that whosoever would, should take their Oath for the execution hereof, and obey the commandement of the five and twenty Barons herein without prohibition. And if any of them dissented, or could not assemble, the*

A Schedule of the demands of the Lords.

The Lords seize on the Kings Castles.

The Lords repaire to London.

King Iohn forsaken of his people.

The Earle Marschall & other mediate a reconciliation. A Parliament for restoring the Rights and Liberties of the kingdome.

Articles of the agreement confirmed by King Iohn.

major

major part to have the same power of proceeding. Besides for more caution, the foure Chatelaines of the Castles of Northampton, Kinelworth, Nottingham, and Skarbrough, should be sworne to obey the Commandement of the five and twenty Barons, or the major part of them, in whatsoever they thought good concerning those Castles. Wherein none should be placed but such as were faithfull, and would observe their Oath, &c. That all strangers, whereof divers are expressly nominated should be moved out of the Kingdome. And a generall pardon granted for all transgressions committed, through the occasion of this discord, from the beginning thereof to this present time. And mutuall Oathes taken of both sides, in solemne manner, for the inviolable observing all these Articles. The King likewise sends his Letters Patents to all the Sherifes of the Kingdome, to cause all men of what degree soever, within their severall Shires, to swear to observe those Lawes and Liberties thus granted by his Charter.

1215.  
*Anno*  
*Reg. 17*

King Iohn by  
evill counsell  
frustrates his  
owne Grants.

And in this manner (though it were to be wished, it had not beene in this manner) were recovered the rights of the kingdome. Whereof, though they seeme to have now the *Livery* they had not the *Seisin*. For presently the King being loose from the doing, which he pretends to be by force, unlooses the Deed, and there wanted not those about him, who observing which way his will bent, to turne him more violently upon that side; not in regard of his good, but their owne interests, making more profit by his irregularity than otherwise they could of his orderly courses: Telling him, he was now a King without a Kingdome, a Lord without a Dominion, and a subject to his Subjects. Wicked Counsellours, as if it were not enough, to be above men, but to be above mankind, as those Princes would be, that would be under the Law; considering the preservation of Kings and Kingdomes is to have the balance of satisfaction, both of the one and other, equall. But by such Counsellors is he confirmed in his refractory humour. And worthily that Prince deserves to be deceived in his executions, who understands not, as well the Counsellours as the Counsell.

Retires into  
the Isle of  
Wight, and  
writes to the  
Pope.

The Pope ex-  
communicates  
the Barons.

Resolved he is (given over to confusion and revenge) to dissolve this tye, and privily withdrawes himselfe into the Isle of *Wight*, from whence hee sends his Agents to *Rome*, (where now he could doe any thing) to complaine of this enforced act to the Pope, who by a definitive Sentence, first condemnes and nullifies what was done, and after excommunicates the Barons: who during this absence and retire of their King, knowing the violence of his nature, and doubting their owne danger, keepe in and about the City of *London*; and there under colour of Turnements and exercise of Armes, invite those who were abroad to resort unto them, and so retaine themselves together in a combination for their owne defence, without seeking farther to interrupt their Kings courses, either by surprise of his person, which they, being of so great strength, might easily have done, or using meanes to intercept his Agents, and take from him those limbes of his power that might worke to offend them.

The error of  
the Barons.

But this must either argue that their end was only to have (but what they had obtained) the restitution of the Liberties of the kingdome (which though thus recovered by violence they seemed desirous to hold with peace) or else their negligence, which may be thought strange in those wakefull and active times, to be such, as to leave a displeased King alone to his owne working, especially removed to a place, where the Sea being open unto him, his outsendings might be without view or noting: unlesse either they presumed of his litle credit abroad, or their owne power at home.

But during this his retire in the Isle, which was three moneths, he slackes



no time to put his desires in execution, and besides his dispatch to Rome, sends the Bishop of Worcester, Chancellor of England, the Bishop of Norwich, and others with his seale, to procure him Forraigne forces out of such parts beyond the seas, as held correspondency with him, appointing them to repaire to Dover about Michaelmas next. In the meane time, without any royall shew or stirre (attended with some borrowed servants of the Bishop of Norwich, and Marriners of the Cinke-ports, whom he entertained) he, as they write, fell to piracy and exercised himselfe at sea: whiles various reports are made of him here on land; some giving out, that he was turned Fisher, some a Merchant, others a Pyrate. But at the time appointed he meetes at Dover with those Forraigne forces, drawne together out of *Positon* and *Galcony*, under the conduct of *Savarie de Malcon*, *Geffery* and *Oliver Bateville* brothers; with others out of *Lovaine*, and *Brabant*, under *Walker Bucke*, *Gerrard Satin*, and *Godball*, all desperate adventurers, leading an execrable sort of people, whose miserable fortunes at home, easily drew them to any mischiefs abroad; and with these is King Iohn furnished to set upon his owne people. And had not *Hugh de Boues* (to whom the Countreies of *Suffolke* and *Norfolke* were allotted for service to be done) setting forth from *Calise* with 40. thousand more men, women and children, bene by a Indian tempest drowned in the Sea, he had made an universall conquest of the Kingdome, farre more miserable than the Norman: considering that with those he had, he wrought so much as we shall heare presently he did.

For, after he had recovered the Castle of *Rochester*, which *William de Albemarle*, with memorable courage, held out three months against all that mighty power of his (the Barons not able or not adventuring to succour him) he marched over the most of the Kingdome, and within halfe a yeare got in all the Castles of the Barons even to the borders of Scotland, and was absolute Maister of all England, except the City of London, on which he forbore to adventure, in regard of the close united power of the Barons that resolutely held and vowed to dye together; and separate them he could not, and therefore from *Rochester* he marches to *S. Albans*, where the first publication of the Popes excommunication of the Barons is pronounced.

And here he devises his Army (consisting most of ravenous strangers) in two parts: appointing his brother *William Earle of Salisbury*, with *Falcais Savary de Malcon* Leader of the *Portugals*, *Braber*, and *Bur* of the *Flemings* and *Brabantines*, to guard the countreies and Castles about the City of London, to cut off all provisions, and annoy the Barons by all meanes possible: himselfe with the other part of his Forces drawes Northward, and laves waste all the countreies before him, and both these Armies set onely upon destruction, and all those calamities, that the rage of a disorderly Warre could commit upon a miserable people that made no head at all against them.

All countreies suffer in this affliction, and King Iohn marching as farre as *Barwick*, had purposed to have carried it further (threatning *Alexander King of Scots*, that he would have the *Portugals* hole, alluding to his red harte, that he nott onely ealled from that attempt to come backe to these parts, upon discovery of new Defences practised by the Barons, who seeing themselves deprived of their Estates (given away to Strangers, their wives and daughters violated, and their substance consumed desperately fall upon and the extreme, making out for neede as to the French Kings Counte, following him to take upon him the Crowne of *England*, wherein they promised by their great oaths to assist him, and to send pledges for the performance thereof, being persuaded that those Forces of the French, which King Iohn had en-

The King sends to levy forraigne forces.

He meetes with them at Dover.

Hugh de Boues with 40000. men, and 100. ships, being taken of 3 Flanders drowned.

The King in halfe a yeare recovers all his Castles.

1216.

Anno Reg. 18

King Iohn was at S. Albans divided his Army in two parts.

The Barons  
followe Louys  
the French  
Kings, to  
take upon him  
the Crown of  
England.

The Pope  
writes to di-  
vert Louys  
from the en-  
terprize.

Louys's  
lands  
in Kent, &c.

Louys's  
lands  
in Kent, &c.

Louys's  
lands  
in Kent, &c.

Louys's  
lands  
in Kent, &c.

Louys's  
lands  
in Kent, &c.

retained, would upon the coming of those aydes for the King of France, being their Sovereigne, forsake him. This message is entrayned, a Parliament is called at Lyons, by King Phillip the Father of Louys, the business consulted, and resolved upon. Louys belides the assurance made of his proffered election, relies upon a title which he claimes by his wife Blanch, daughter to the Sister of King John, and writes to the Barons that he would shortly send them succour, and not be long behind to be with them in person.

The intelligence of this designe is soone intimated to the Pope, who presently sends his Agent to the King of France, with letters to intreat him, not to suffer his sonne to invade or disquiet the King of England, but to defend him, in regard he was a vassall of the Roman Church, and the Kingdome, by reason of Dominion, appertaining thereunto. The King of France answers, *That the Kingdome of England never was, nor is, or ever shall be the patrimony of St. Peter, and that King John was never lawfull King thereof, and if he were, he had forfeited the same by the murder of Arthur, for which he was condemned in his Court; neither could he give away the Kingdome without the consent of the Barons who are bound to defend the same. And if the Pope would maintain this error, it would be a pernicious example to all Kingdomes.*

Here with the Popes Agent departs unsatisfied, Louys having first dispatched Commissioners to Rome to declare his right and justify his undertaking, sets forth from Calice with 600 ships, and 80 other vessels, and lands with his Army at Sandwich. King John attends him at Dover, with purpose to encounter him at his landing, but upon notice of his great power, and distrusting the Faith of his mercenaries, having committed the keeping of the Castle of Dover to Hubert de Burgh, forsakes the field (and with at himselfe) retires first to Winchester, after to Gloucester, and leaves all to the will of his enemy Louys: who after he had obtained the submission of all Kent, except the Castle of Dover which he never could get, he comes to London, where he is joyfully received of the Barons, and upon his Oath taken to restore their Lawes and recover their rights, hath homage and fealty done him, as the Sovereigne Lord: Thither came likewise the Barons, Arundel, Salisbury, William Marshal the younger with many other, forsaking King John, and rendered themselves unto him.

And here he decided his first business. A while he stayed at London, and then he departed for Gloucester, the way was out in all the way of his passage, he went to Gloucester, they were King John, the Popes care of him, and in solemn manner pronounced the sentence of Excommunication against Louys, and all that took part with him, which though it brought him some comfort for the time, yet it took little or nothing from the enemy, neither could it so continue his mercenaries, but that most of them left him, and either returned home into their Countries with such pay as they had, or betooke themselves to this new commotion. King John was not yet so forsaken, but that he had power enough remaining, to intreat though not encounter his enemies, and faith hee found abroad amongst many of his Ministers, that well defended their charge. Dover Castle with a small Company holds out against all the force that Louys could bring against it. Windsor Castle guarded but with three score men could not be wonne, with all the power of the Barons; some other places, as Nottingham and Lincoln Castles, made very resolute resistance. But nothing is effected save the ruine of the Countrey, the most yeelding and fertile parts of the Kingdom, as about Gloucester, the marches of Wales, Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, Northamptonshire, Essex, Kent, all about London, are the stages of this War, & hereto they add their mischiefs, which continued all that Summer; And about the latter end of October a burning

burning Fever makes an end of this fiery King, which tooke him upon an extreme griefe conceived for the losse of his carriages sunke in the Sands, passing the *Walsis* betweene *Lin* and *Boston*; and was augmented by a surfeit of Peaches, and new Ale taken at the Abby of Swinhead, from whence in great weaknesse he is conveyed to *Newmarke*, where, after he had received the Eucharist, and taken order for the succession of his sonne *Henry*, he departs this life, having reigned 18. yeares, five moneths, and foure dayes.

The death of King John.

The Abbot of *Croceston*, a man skilfull in Physicke, and at that time the Kings Physition, disbowelled his body, who, no doubt would have given notice to the World, had his Maister (as it was in after ages vainely bruted) bene poisoned by a Monke of Swinhead Abbay, but the Writers of those times report no such matter. Howsoever, his Death takes not away the reproach of his life, nor the infamy that followes him, whereunto ill Princes are as subject as their evill Subjects, and cannot escape the brute of a clamorous Pen, witnesse this Distique:

Mat. Par.

*Anglia sicut adhuc sordet fœtoris Iohannis,  
Sordida fedatur sædante Iohanne Gehenna.*

He had issue by his wife *Isabel* (daughter to *Aymer* Earle of *Anglesme*) two sonnes, *Henry* and *Richard*, also three daughters *Joan*, *Eliouer*, and *Isabel*. *Henry* succeeded him in his Kingdome, *Richard* was Earle of *Cornwall*, and Crowned King of the *Romans*, and had issue *Henry* and *John* that dyed without issue, also *Edward* Earle of *Cornwall* and others.

His issue.

*Joan* the eldest Daughter (married to *Alexander* the second, King of *Scots*) dyed without issue.

Joan Speede.

*Eliouer* the second daughter (married to *Simon* Earle of *Leicester*) had issue *Henry*, *Simon*, *Almaricke*, *Guy*, *Richard*, and *Eliouer*. *Henry* slaine without issue. *Simon* Earle of *Bigorre*, and Ancestor to a Family of the *Mountfords* in *France*. *Almaricke* first a Priest, after a Knight. *Guy* Earle of *Anglenia* in *Italy*, and Progenitor of the *Mountfords* in *Tuscaine*; and of the Earles of the *Campo Bacchi* in the Kingdome of *Naples*. *Richard* remaining privily in *England*, and changing his name from *Mountford*, to *Wellesborne*, was Ancestor of the *Wellesbornes* in *England*. *Eliouer* borne in *England*, brought up in *France*, married into *Wales* to Prince *Lewin ap Griffith*.

*Isabel* their youngest daughter (married to the Emperour *Fredricke* the second) had issue, *Henry* appointed to be King of *Sicile*, and *Margaret* wife of *Albert*, Landgrave, *Thurine*. She dyed in child-bed after she had bene Emperesse six yeares. He had also two naturall sonnes. *Geffery Fitz Roy*, that transported souldiers into *France*, when *Hubert* forbad his Father to goe thither: *Richard*, (that married the daughter and Heire of *Fulbert de Dover* (who built *Childham* Castle) had issue by her, of which some Families of good esteeme are descended. Likewise one naturall Daughter *Joan* married to *Lewin* Prince of *Wales*.

The end of the Life and Reigne of King John.

## The Life and Reigne of Henry the third.



HE death of King *John*, though it much altered, yet it ended not the miserable businesses of the Kingdome: For *Louys*, notwithstanding held his hopes, and his party through much shaken by the suddaine Coronation of *Henry*, eldest sonne to King *John*, solemnized in a great Assembly of States at *Gloce*.

1216.

Anno  
Reg. 1.



Henry the  
third crowned  
at Gloucester.

ster the 28. of October, and committed to the tutelage of the great Marshall, William Earle of Pembroke, the maine Pillar of the Father, and now the preserver of the Crowne to his sonne, a man eminent both in courage and Counsell, who with Guallo the Popes Legate, the Bishops of Winchester, Bath, and Worcester, worke all meanes to draw the Barons, and as many of power as they could to their new and naturall King, from this Excommunicate stranger, and his adherents. And bred great fluctuation in the mindes of most of them doubtfull what to resolve upon, in regard of the tender youth of Henry, and their Oath made to Louys.

But such was the insolence of the French, making spoyle and prey of whatsoever they could fasten on (and now invented by Louys, contrary to his Oath, in all those places of importance they had recovered) as made many of the English to relinquish their sworne fidelity, and forsake his part. Which more of them would have done, but for the shame of inconstancy, and the danger of their pledges, remaying in France, which were great ties upon them. Besides, the popular bruit generally divulged concerning the confession of the Viscount Melun a French-man, who lying at the point of death, toucht with compunction, is sayd to reveale the intention, and vow of Louys (which was utterly to extinguish the English Nation, whom he held vile, and never to bee trusted, having forsaken their owne Sovereigne Lord) wrought a great aversion in the hearts of the English, which whether it were indeede uttered, or given out of purpose, it was so to be expected, according to the precedents of all in brought Forreiners upon the divisions of a distracted people.

The confession  
of the Vis-  
count Melun  
at his death.

Divers Lords  
revolt from  
Louys.

And first William Earle of Salisbury, mooved in blood to succour his Nephew, tooke away a maine peece from the side of Louys, and with him the Earles of Arundel, Warren, William, sonne and heire to the great Marshall, returne to the fidelity of Henry, after six moneths they had revolted to the service of Louys, which now may be thought was done but to temporise, and try the hazard of a doubtfull game; otherwise a brother would not have forsaken a brother, nor so Noble a Father, and sonne have divided their starres. Notwithstanding Louys found hands enough to hold London, with all the Countreies about it a whole yeare yeare after, so that the young King was constrained to remaine about Gloucester, Worcester, and Bristol, where his wakefull ministers faile not to imploy all meanes to gather upon whatsoever advantages could be espied, & at length so wrought as they drew the enemy from the head of the Kingdome downe into the body, first into Leicester shire to relieve the Castle of Montfort a peece appertaining to Saer de Quincy Earle of Winchester, a great partisan of Louys, and after by degrees to Lincoln, where a Noble Lady called Phillippa (but of what Family, time hath injuriously bereft us the knowledge) had, more than with Feminine courage defended the Castle, the space of a whole yeare, against Gilbert de Gant, and the French forces, which were posselt of the Towne.

The Earle Marshall Protector of the King and Kingdome, with his sonne, William; the Bishops Winchester, Salisbury and Chester, the Earles of Salisbury, Ferrers, and Alhermarke, William de Albini, John Marshall, William de Cantelupe, Falsamus, Thomas Bassett, Robert Veyppint, Brent de Lisse, Geffery Lucy, Phillip de Albini, and many other Barons, and Marshall men, being with all the power of the young King, (whose forces as they marched, grew daily greater) come to a place called Stom within eight miles of Lincoln, the Legat Guallo to ad courage & resolution to the Army caused upon confession of their sins, the eucharist to be ministred & gives them a plenary absolution, solemnly accursing

The forces of  
Louys over-  
throwne.

accusing *Louys* with all his adherents, as separated from the unity of the Church, which done, they set forth, and with such violence assaile the City on all sides, as the defendants (after the Earle of *Perth*, valiantly fighting, was slain) were soone defeated; and all the Principall men taken Prisoners, whereof these are nominated: *Saen* Earle of *Winchester*, *Henry de Bohun*, Earle of *Hereford*, *Gilbert de Grant*, lately made Earle of *Lincolne* by *Louys*, *Robert Fitz Walter*, *Richard Monfiches*, *William Mowbray*, *William Beauchamp*, *William Maudit*, *Oliver Harcourt*, *Roger de Cressy*, *William de Coleville*, *William de Ros*, *Robert de Ropsley*, *Ralph Chanduit* Barons, besides 400. Knights or men at Armes, with their servants, horse and foot. The number and quality of the persons taken, shew the importance of the place, and the greatnesse of the Victory, which gave *Louys* his maine blow; and was the last of his battailes in *England*.

The spoiles were very great being of a City, at that time rich in Merchandize, whereupon the winners (in derision) termed it *Louys his Faire*. Many of those who escaped, and fled from this overthrow; were slain by the Country people in their disorderly passing towards *London* unto *Louys*, who upon notice of this great defeat, sends presently over for succour into *France*, and drawes all the power he had in *England*, to the City of *London*; whither the Earle Marshall with the young King bend their course, with purpose either to assaile *Louys* upon this fresh dismay of his losse, and the distraction of his partakers, or induce him by agreement to relinquish the Kingdome. The first being found difficult, the last is propounded, whereunto *Louys* would not be brought to yeeld, untill hearing how his succors coming out of *France*, where by *Phillip de Albany*, and *Hugh de Burgh*, with the Forces of the Cinque ports, all vanquished at Sea, he then hopelesse of any longer subsisting with safety, condescends to an accord: takes fifteene thousand Markes for his voyage, abjures his claime to the Kingdome: promises by Oath to worke his Father, as farre as in him lay, for the restitution of such Provinces in *France*, as appertained to this Crowne; and that when himselfe should be King, to resigne them in peaceable manner.

On the other part King *Henry* takes his Oath, and for him, the Legat, and the Prorektor, to restore unto the Barons of this Realme, and other his Subjects, all their rights and heritages, with those liberties for which the discord beganne betwene the late King and his people. Generall pardon is granted, & all prisoners freed on both sides: *Louys* is honorably attended to *Dover*, and departs out of *England* about *Michaelmas*: above two yeares after his first arrivall, having bene here, in the greatest part, received King, and was more likely to have established himselfe, and made a Conquest of this Kingdome (being thus pulled in by others armes) than the Norman that made way with his owne, had not the All-disposer otherwise diverted it.

Such effects wrought the violence of an unruly King, and the desperation of an oppressed people, which now notwithstanding the Fathers iniquity, most willingly embrace the son, as naturally inclined to love, & obey their Princes.

And in this recovery, the industry of *Guallo* the Legat wrought much, though what he did therein was for his owne ends, and the pretended interest of the Pope, whose ambition had bene first an especiall cause for this great combustion in the Kingdome, but as they who worke the greatest mischiefs, are oftentimes the men that can best repaire them, so was it in this, and therefore the lesse worthy of thanks. The Legat was well payed for his paines, and notwithstanding the great distresse of the Kingdome carries away twelve thousand Markes with him to *Rome*.

The spoyle of  
Lincolne.

The peace  
was conclu-  
ded the 11. of  
September.

1218.

Anno  
Reg. 3.

1219.

Anno  
Reg. 4.

But thus the longest afflicted state beganne to have some peace, and yet with many distemperatures at the first, ere those virulent humours which the Warre had bred were otherwise diverted. For many of the Nobles who had taken part with the King, cyther unsatisfied in their expectations, or knowing not how to maintaine themselves and theirs, but by rapine; fall to mutiny, surprizing of Castles, and making spoyles in the Countrey, as the Earle of Albemarle, Robert de Veypont, Fouke de Brent, Brian de Lisle, Hugh de Balioll, with many other; but at length, they are likewise appeased. And seeing the Warre must nurse, whom it had bred, an action is undertaken for the holy Land, whither Ralph Earle of Chester, Saer de Quincy Earle of Winchester, William de Albany Earle of Arundell, Robert Fitz Walter, William de Harcourt, with many others, are sent with great Forces: besides, to unburthen the Kingdome, all strangers, unlesse such as came with Merchandize, are commanded to avoyd the Land, and all meanes used for the regaining the ability it had lost.

And no sooner had this provident Protector the Earle of Pembroke settled the Kings affaires, but he dies, to the great regret of the Kingdome; leaving behind him a most Noble memory of his active worth, and is to be numbred amongst the examples of the best of men; to shew how much the wisdom and valour of a potent Subject may recede a distracted State in time of danger.

The Bishop of Winchester (imparting the charge with many other great Councillors) is made Protector of the young King, who in Anno Reg. 4. is againe crowned, and the next yeare after, hath by Parliament granted for the Escuage two markes of silver of every Knights fee, for the affaires of the Kingdome, and recovery of his transmarine Dominions, which now is designed, and Malleon de Savery the Poitouian with William Longsword Earle of Salisbury, sent over into Guien to try the affections of that people, whom they finde, for the most part inclinable to the obedience of this Crowne. The King of France is required to make restitution of what he had usurped, but returns answer; That what he had gotten both by forfeiture, and Law of Armes, he would holde.

To retaine amity with Scotland, and peace at home, Joan, the Kings sister is given in marriage to Alexander King of Scots, and Margarete, sister to the same King, to Hubert de Burgh, now made Iusticiar of England, and the especiall man who guided the greatest affaires of the Kingdome. Wales, revolting under their Prince Lewelin, gave occasion of great charge and trouble to this State in the beginning of this Kings Reigne, and long after, till it was wholly subdued. And a commotion in Ireland, made by Hugh Lacy, is appeased by William Earle of Pembroke, sonne to the late great Marshall; and some few yeeres after hath the Kingdome a kind of quietnesse, saving that Folscham (or Fouke de Brent) with certaine Chatelains (the dregs of War) fortifying the Castle of Bedford, with some other peeces of strength, and committing many outrages, gave occasion of businesse till they were gotten by hard assault.

But now the King being come to some yeares of understanding, was, in a Parliament holden at London, put in minde by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in behalfe of the State of his Oath made, and taken by others for him, upon the peace which Louys fore confirmation of the liberties of the Kingdome, for which the War began with his Father, and being the maine base whereon his owne good, and that of his people must subsist, without which the whole State would againe fall asunder; they would have him to know it betime, to

avoid

The death of  
the Protector  
Earle Marshal.

The King  
againe Crow-  
ned.  
1 Parliament.

1220.

Anno  
Reg. 5.

1121.

Anno  
Reg. 6.



avoi'de those miserable inconveniences, which the disunion of Rule and Obedience might bring upon them all, which though it were impiously there oppugned (as Princes shall ever finde mouths, to expresse their pleasures in what course soever they take) by some Ministers of his (amongst whom one *William Brewer* a Councillor is named) who urged it to have beene an Act of constraint, and therefore not to be performed; was, notwithstanding promised at that time by the King to be ratified, and twelve Knights, or other Legatmen of every Shiere by Writs charged to *examin, what were the Lawes and liberties which the Kingdome enjoyed under his Grandfather, and returne the same by a certaine day*; and so by that usuall shift of Prolongation, the businesse was put off for that time, to the greater vexation of that following. For during all his Reigne of six and fifty yeares (the longest of any King of England) this put him to the greatest imbroylement, made him ill beloved of his people (ever crost in his intendements) and far a lesse King, onely by striving to be more than he was: the just reward of violations. And even this first pause, upon the lawfull requisition thereof, turned the blood, and shewed how sensible the State was, in the least stoppage of that tender veine: For, presently the Earles of *Chester* and *Albimarle* with many other great men, assemble at *Leicester* with intent to remooove from the King *Hugh de Burgh* chiefe Iusticiar and other officers supposed to hinder this motion. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury* by his spirituall power, and the rest of the Nobility, more carefull to preserve the peace of the Kingdome, stood to the King, and would not suffer any proceeding in this kind, so as the Lords effected nothing at that time, but were constrained to come in, and submit themselves. And here the King by Parliament resumes such alienations as had beene made by his Ancestors, of what had appertained to the Crowne, whereby he might have the more meanes of his owne without pressing his Subjects; but this served not his turne.

The next yeare after another Parliament is held at *Westminster*, wherein is required the fiftieth part of all moveables both of the Clergy and Layety, for the recovery of those parts in *France* withheld from this Crowne by *Louys* now King, contrary to his oath and promise made here in *England* at his departure. Which motion, though it concerned the honour and dignity of his Kingdome, (being the inheritance of the King, and the estates of most of the Nobility, and other the subjects, who had Lands and possessions in those parts, which no doubt, they desired to recover with their utmost means,) yet would they not yeeld to the grant of this Subsidy, but upon confirmation of their liberties; which in the end they obtayned, in the same words and forme as King *John* had granted them in the two Charters before.

And twelve Knights, or Legall men are chosen in every shiere, upon their Oath, to disparte the old Forrests from the new: And all such as were found to have beene inforrested since the first Coronation of *Henry* the second to be disafforrested, and disposed at their pleasure, who were to possesse them. Whereupon they were layd open, plowed and improoved to the exceeding comfort, and benefit of the Subject, whereby men, in steede of wilde beasts, were sustayned, and more roome made for them to use their industry.

Two yeares with great quietnesse, and generall content (the blessing of a State) these liberties were enjoyed, when the King at a Parliament at *Oxford*, declaring himselfe to be of lawfull age, and free from custody, to dispose of the Affaires of the Kingdome; cancels and annuls the Charter of Forrests, as granted in his Nonage, having no power of himselfe, or of his Seale, and therefore of no validity: And causes Proclamation to be made, that both the Clergy,

1223.

Anno

Reg. 7.

2 Parliament.

Resumption.

1223.

Anno

Reg. 8.

3 Parliament

Disforestation.

1225.

Anno

Reg. 10

4 Parliament.

Clergy, and all others, if they would enjoy those liberties, should renew their Charters, & have them confirmed under his new Seale: For which they were constrained to pay, not according to their ability, but the will of the chiefe Iusticiar, *Hugh de Burgh*, to whom is layd the blame of this mischiefe, which procured him the generall hatred of the Kingdome; and bred a new insurrection of the Nobility, who, taking advantage upon a breach lately false out, betwene the King and his brother *Richard Earle of Cornwall* (about the Castle of *Barkamsted*, appertayning to that Earledome which the King had committed to the keeping of one *Walleran* a Dutcheman) joyned with the Earle, and put themselves in Armes. For the King maintayning the cause of *Walleran*, commands his brother to render the Castle which he had taken from him; or else to depart the Kingdome.

The Earle answers that he would neither doe the one or the other: without the judgement of his Peeres; and so departs to his lodging, leaving the King much displeased with this answer. The chiefe Iusticiar fearing the disturbance of the peace, advises the King suddainly to apprehend the Earle, and commit him to close custody; but the Earle cyther through notice, or doubt thereof, flies presently to *Marleborough*, where he findes *William Earle Marshall*, his friend, and confederate by Oath, with whom he hastes to *Stamford*, and there meets with the Earles of *Chester*, *Glocester*, *Warren*, *Hereford*, *Ferrers*, *Warwicke*, with divers Barons, and men at armes: From whence they send to the King, advising him to right the injury done to his brother. The cause heereof, they impute to *Hugh de Burgh*, and not to himselfe: besides, they require restitution to be made without delay, of the liberties of the Forrests lately cancelled at *Oxford*, otherwise they would compell him thereunto by the sword.

The revoking  
the Charters  
of Forrests  
which bred a  
new insur-  
rection.

1226.

Anno

Reg. 11.

5 Parliament.

The King, to avoyd this danger, appoints them a day to come to an Assembly at *Northampton*, where a concord is concluded; & to satisfie his brother, (besides the rendring unto him his Castle) he grants him all that his mother had in Dowre, and whatsoever Land the Earle of *Brittaine* held in *England*, with those of the Earle of *Bologne* lately deceased, and so the Parliament brake up. After this the generall motion for the holy Wars intertaines some time. Which so strongly wrought in that credulous world, as sixty thousand sufficient men, are reported to have undertaken that Voyage: of whom *Peter Bishop of Winchester*, and *William Bishop of Excester*, are the Leaders.

1227.

Anno

Reg. 12.

The King is solicited by *Hugh le Brun Earle of March*, who had married his Mother, and by other great men of *Normandy*, to come over into *France* to recover his right, upon the great alterations hapning in those parts by this occasion.

French History.

*Louys* the eight (who succeeded *Phillip* the second) being lately dead, after his great siege of *Anignon*, and his Warres made against the Heretickes *Albigens* in *Provence*, leaves the Kingdome to his Sonne *Louys* of the age of twelve yeares, in whose minority his Mother *Blanch*, taking upon her the Regency, so discontented the Princes of the blood, as they opposethemselves against her, holding it both dishonorable and dangerous, that a woman and a stranger, by the counsell of *Spaniards* (whom she advanced above the Naturals of the Kingdome) should governe all according to her pleasure, and therefore enter league against her. The chiefe of whom were *Phillip Earle of Bologne*, Vncle by the Father, to the King: *Robert Earle of Champagne*, *Peter de Dreux Duke of Brittain*, and *Robert Earle of Dreux* his brother, and with these *Hugh* the Earle of *March* takes part, in regard the Queene regent had

had created the Country of *Poitou* to a County, and made Earle thereof *Alphonso* her sonne, brother to the young King, whereby finding himselfe inclosed within that County, he refused to acknowledge *Alphonso* for Lord: instigated thereunto by his wife, a Queene Dowager of *England*, who could not comport a superior so neere her doore, in so much as they likewise draw in the Earle of *Lusignan*, brother to the Earle of *March*, who also presuming upon the greatnesse of his house descended of Kings, was apt to take their part; and these with the Earle of *Brittaine* call in the King of *England*. Who after he had exacted great summes of the Clergy, of the City of *London*, for redemption of their liberties, and taken the third part of all the goods of the Jewes, passes over with an Army, lands at *S. Mallo*, is met by many Nobles of *Poitou*, who with the Earle of *Brittaine* doe homage unto him, and great preparations are made to recover such peeces as had bene obtained by the late King of *France*.

The Queene Regent sets out a powerfull Army to stop the proceeding of the King of *England*, and much mischief is wrought on both sides in *Poitou*, *Saintonge*, *Angoumois*, where their friends and enemies suffer all alike. At length, seeing no great good to arise by their travaile, both weary of the businesse, eyther a peace, or truce is concluded.

The King of *England* besides an infinite expence of Treasure, having lost divers of his Nobles and other Vallant men in the journey, without any glory returns home, bringing with him the Earle of *Brittaine* and many *Poitouians* to receive their promised reward, which notwithstanding all the former expence must be wrung out of the substance of the poore Subjects of *England*.

Vpon his returne, he entertaines a purpose of marriage with a sister of the King of *scots*, against which, the Earles and Barons of *England* generally oppose; alledging it to be unfit that he should have the younger sister, when *Hubert* his chiefe Iusticiar, had married the eldest; and the Earle of *Brittaine*, by whose counsell he was now much directed, dissuades him likewise from it. To this Earle (after supplies obtained towards his expences, and debts in *France*) he gives five thousand markes, as if remaining of the summe he had promised. And for the rest of the *Poitouians*, their presents and rewards were to be had by the displacing and spoyles of his Officers, Receivours and others, whom now he calls to account, and casts for discharging him in their Offices, of whom *Ralph Bruton* Treasurer of his Chamber is first, who was committed to prison and grievously fined: Then *Hubert de Burgh* his chiefe Iusticiar, (a man who had long ruled all under him, in a place ever obnoxious to detraction and envy) is called to account for such Treasure as passed his Office (which was then for all relieves, and subsidies, whatsoever raised on the subject) and notwithstanding he had the Kings Charter for it during life, yet is he thrust out of his Office, and besides accused of haynous crimes of Treason.

No sooner was this great Officer, and inward Counsellour false into the Kings displeasure, but presently a whole volly of accusations (which feare in time of favour held in) were discharged upon him, and every act of his examined, and urged according to the passion of the complainers. The City of *London* layes to his charge the execution of their Citizen *Constantine* (in the time of a ryot committed betweene their people and those of *Westminster* at a wrestling in *Saint James* fields, Anno Reg. 4.) as done without Warrant and Law, and crave Iustice for his blood. *Hubert*, to avoide this suddaine storme comming upon him, fled to the Church of *Merton* for Sanctuary, whence, by armed

The King calls his Officers to account.

1228.  
Anno  
Reg. 13.



The King removes his officers.

armed men sent to pursue him, he is drawne out by force, and committed to prison. Of which violence done contrary to the privilege of that sacred place, the Bishop of London, in whose Dioces it was, complains, and so wrought that he is brought backe againe to the same Chappell. But yett all that could not shelter him from the Kings wrath, who gives strict commandement to the Shriefes of *Hartford* and *Sussex*, to set a guard about the place, that no sustenance be brought him. Hunger inforces him to commit himselfe to the Kings mercy, and away he is sent prisoner to the *Vizes*, his mony left in the custody of the Templars, is brought forth, & seized into the Kings hands, claying that, and much more as stolne out of his Exchequer. *Stephen de Se-grave* is put into his Office, a worse minister for the Common-wealth (which seldome gaines by such shiftings) and who must shortly runne the same Fortune. *Walter* Bishop of *Carlisle* is likewise thrust out of his Office of Treasurer, and *William Rodon* Knight, of his place of Marshall of the Kings house; and all the chiefe Counsellours, Bishops, Earles and Barons of the Kingdome, are removed as distrusted, and onely strangers preferred to their roomes. *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, lately returned from the holy Wars, to be the Author of most unholy discord at home, is charged to be the cause hereof, and with him one *Peter de Rivalis*, now the especiall minion about the King.

These straines of so strange and insufferable violences so exasperate the Nobility, as many (whereof *Richard*, now Earle Marshall, upon the death of his brother *William* was chiefe) do combine themselves for defence of the publike, and boldly doe shew the King his error, and ill advised course in suffering strangers about him, to the disgrace and oppression of his naturall liege people, contrary to their Lawes and liberties, and that unless he would reforme this excesse, whereby his Crowne and Kingdome was in eminent danger, he and the rest of the Nobility would withdraw themselves from his Counsell; whereunto the Bishop of *Winchester* replies: that it was lawfull for the King to call what strangers he listed about him, for defence of his Crowne and Kingdome, thereby to compell his proud and rebellious subjects to their owne due obedience. With which answer the Earle and the rest depart with more indignation: vowing that in this cause, which concerned them all, they would spend their lives.

Hereupon the King suddainly sends over for whole legions of *Poiteviens*, and withall summons a Parliament at *Oxford*, whither the Lords refuse to come, both in regard they found themselves despised, and holding it not safe by reason of those multitudes of strangers. Then was it decreed by the Kings Councell that they should be the second and third time summoned, to try whether they would come or not. And here, from the Pulpit, whence the Voyce of God to the people is uttered, the King is boldly shewed the way to redresse this mischief of the Kingdome, by one *Robert Bacon* a Fryer Predicant; but more Comically by *Roger Bacon*, (in pleasant discourse) asking the King: *My Lord, what is most nocent to Sea-men, and what feare they most*, the King replies: Sea-men know that best themselves; then, my Lord I will tell you: *Petra & Rupes*, alledging to *Petrus de Rupibus* Bishop of *Winchester*.

After this, the Lords were summoned to a Parliament at *Westminster*: Whither likewise they refused to come, unlesse the King would remove the Bishop of *Winchester*, and the *Poiteviens* from the Court: otherwise, by the Common Councell of the Kingdome they send him expresse word, they would expell him, and his evill Counsellors out of the Land, and deale for the Creation of a new King.

Vpon this threatening, pledges are required of the Nobility to be delivered by a certaine day, for security of their alleagiance. But no act passed in this

Parlia-

The Lords combine for the publike defence against the king.

The Lords refuse to come to Parliament upon summons.

1232.  
Anno  
Reg. 17  
6 Parliament.

Parliament though divers Lords came thither, as the Earles of Cornwall, Chester, Lincoln, Ferrers and others. In regard the Earle Mareschall, the Lord Gilbert Basset, and other Nobles were not present. Then were Writs sent out to all who held by Knights service, to repaire to the King at Gloucester by a certaine day: which the Earle Mareschall and his associates refusing, the King without the judgment of his Court and their Peeres, causes to be proclaimed Outlawes, seizes upon all their Lands, which he gives to his *Partisans*, and directs out Writs to attach their bodies wheresoever in the Kingdome.

The Bishop of Winchester to weaken the party of the Mareschall, wonne the Earles of Chester and Lincoln with a thousand markes, and the King had so pleased his brother the Earle of Cornwall, as he likewise left them. Whereupon they withdrew them into Wales, and confederate with *Lewelin* and other great men in that country, (whither also came *Hubert de Burgh*, escaping out of the *Vin* Castle, and joynes with them) taking their oath utterly mutually, that no one without other should make their accord.)

The King goes himselfe in person with an Army, against those revolted Lords, into Wales, where he had the worst of the businesse, and much dishonour, returns to Gloucester, employes new forces of strangers, but all without successe. Whereupon a Fryer of the order of Minors is employed to conferre with the Earle Mareschall, and to perswade him to come in, and submit himselfe to the Kings mercy, whom he had heard to say notwithstanding his great offences, he would pardon, and restore to his estate upon submission; and besides give him so much of *Herefordshire*, as should conveniently maintain him. Besides, the Fryer told him that he heard other Counsellors about the King, concerning the wishing of his submission, and in what forme they desired it should be imparted in privat. And then, as of himselfe, hee uses all inducements possible to draw him thereunto, shewing how it was his duty, his profit and safety so to doe. Wherewithall the Earle nothing moved, told the Fryer what injury he had received, and that he could not suffer the King, so long as he had such Counsellors about him: who onely sought the destruction of him, and his associates, who ever had beene his loyall subjects. And after many objections made by the Fryer with urging the Kings power, his owne weakenesse and the danger he was in: the Earle concludes that he feared no danger: that he would never yeeld to the Kings will, that was guided by no reason: that he should give an ill example to relinquish the justice of his cause to obey that will which wrought all injustice, whereby it might appeare, they loved worldly possessions more than right and honour, &c.

So nothing was done, the War continues with much effusion of blood, all the borders of Wales unto *Shrewsbury*, are miserably wasted, and made desolate. At length meanes is used to draw the Earle Mareschall, over into *Normandy* to defend his state there, which was likewise seized upon, by authority given under the Kings hand and Seale, and all those great possessions descended unto him from his Ancestor the Earle *Stranger* (the first conquerour of that country) spoiled and taken from him. And here seeking to recover his livelihood he lost his life, circumvented by treachery: his death gave occasion of griefe, both to his friends and enemies. The King disavows the sending of his commission into *Ireland*, protesting he never knew what he should discharge himselfe upon his Counsellors. A poore sort of weak Princes.

After two yeares affliction, a Parliament is assembled at Westminster, where the Bishops gravely admonish the King (by his Fathers example, and his owne experience, of the mischief of dissension betweene him and his subjects)

The King  
with an army  
against the  
Lords.  
Version 1234  
- Reg. 19  
- 1201

1234  
Anno  
Reg. 19

1234.  
Anno  
Reg. 19  
7 Parliament

dome, occasioned through the ill counsell of his Ministers) to be at union with his people, to remove from him strangers and others, by whole intigitation, for their owne ends, these disturbances are fostered, and his naturall subjects estranged from him, to the great alienation of their affections, which was of dangerous consequence. Wherefore (after recitall of the greivances of the State, and the abuies of his Ministers, which were such as all corrupted times produce) they humbly besought him to governe his, according to the example of other kingdomes, by the natives of the same, and their laws: Otherwise they would proceede by Ecclesiasticall censure, both against his Counsellours and himselfe.

The King seeing no way to subsist and get to his ends, but by temporizing, consents to call home these Lords out of *Wales*, restores them to their places and possessions, amoves those strangers from about him, and calls his new Officers to account. The Bishop of *Winchester*, *Peter de Rivalis* and *Stephen Segrave* thereupon take Sanctuary, but afterward, upon mediation they obtained with great fines, their liberty, dearly paying for their two yeares eminencie and grace.

Things thus appeased, the King gives his sister *Isabel* in marriage to the Emperour *Frederick* the second (successor to *Philip*, and grand-child to *Frederick Barbarossa*): the Archbishop of *Cologne*, and the Duke of *Lorraine* were sent for her. Shee is conducted by the King her brother to *Sanwich* with three thousand horse. The marriage is solemnized at *Wormes*. Shee was the third wife of this Emperour, an alliance that yeelded neither strength or benefit (though that were both their ends) to either Prince. The continuall broyle which this Emperour held with all the Popes of his time, (*Innocent* the third, *Honorius*, *Innocent* the fourth, *Gregory* the ninth) was such and so great, as all he could doe, was not enough for himselfe. For, not to let goe that he had of the Empire he had in *Italy*, with his hereditary kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicile* which the Popes wrought to draw to the Church, he was put to be perpetually in conflict, never free from vexations, thrust from his owne courses, enjoyned to undertake the holy Warres, to waste him abroad, weakened at home by excommunications, & fines for absolutions, for which, at one time he paid eleven thousand Markes of Gold. And in the end the Popes so prevailed, that in the grave of this *Frederick* was buried the Imperiall Authority in *Italy*, after he had thus reigned foure and thirty yeares, leaving his sonne *Conrade* successour rather of his miseries, than his inheritance. He had a sonne by *Isabel* named *Henry*, to whom he bequeathed the kingdome of *Sicile*, and a hundred thousand ounces of gold, but he lived not to enjoy it.

To the marriage of this sister, the King gives thirty thousand Markes, besides an Imperiall Crowne and other Ornaments of great value: Towards which is rayled two Markes upon every Hide Land. And the next yeare after, himselfe marries *Blanche* daughter to *Raymond* Earle of *Provence*, a match, in regard of the distance of the place, with the meanes and the price of estate, little advantageous either to him or his kingdome. But the circumstance of alliance drew it on, with some other promises which were not observed. So that he is neither greater, nor richer by these marriages, but rather lessened in his meanes, having no dowry with his wife, full of poore knights that must draw meanes from this kingdome.

After the solemnization of this marriage (which was extraordinarily sumptuous) a Parliament is assembled at *London*, which the King would have held in the *Towre*, whither the Lords refusing to come, another place of

Isabel the kings  
sister married  
to the Empe-  
rour.

1230.  
Anno  
Reg. 20

more



more freedom, is appointed : where, after many things propounded for the good of the Kingdome, order is taken that all Shrieves are remooved from their Offices upon complaint of corruption; and others of more integrity, and abler meanes (to avoyde bribery) put in their roomes, taking their oathes to receive no gifts, but in victuals, and those without excelle.

Shrieves re-  
mooved for  
corruption.

Heere the King displaces his Steward, and some other Counsellors, and offers to take from the Bishop of *chichester*, then Chancellour, the great Seale; but the Bishop refuses to deliver it, alledging, how he had it by the Common Councell of the Kingdome, and without assent of the same, would not resigne it, and having carryed himselfe irreprehensible in his Office, is much favoured by the people. *Peter de Rivallis* and *Stephen Segrave*, are againe received into grace: An argument of the Kings levity, and irresolution, mooved, it seemes, with any Engine to doe and undoe, and all out of time and order, wherein he ever looses ground. And nowaine would he have revoked, by the Popes authority, some grants of his made heretofore, as being done beyond his power, and without the consent of the Church, which harsh intention addes more to the already conceived displeasure of the people.

*Anno Reg. 21.* Another Parliament, or the same adjourned is held at *London*, where, in regard of the great expence for his Sisters marriage, and his owne, he requires the thirtieth part of all mooveables, as well of the Clergy as Layety. Whereunto great opposition is made, and recitall of the many Levies had beene exacted of the Kingdome, now of the twentieth, now of the thirtieth, and fortieth parts: And that it was a thing unworthy and injurious, to permit a King, who was so lightly seduceable, and never did good to the Kingdome, eyther in expelling, or repressing enemy, or amplifying the bounds thereof, but rather lessening and subjugating the same to strangers, that he should extort by so many pretences, so great summes from his naturall people (as from slaves of the basest condition) to their detriment, and benefit of *Aliens*. Which when the King heard, desirous to stop this generall murmur, promised by Oath that he would never more injury the Nobles of the Kingdome, so that they would benignely relieve him at that present, with this supply: in regard he had exhausted his treasure, in the marriage of his sister, and his owne: whereunto they plainly answer, that the same was done without their counsell, neyther ought they to be partakers of the punishment, who were free from the fault: After foure daies consultation, the King promising to use onely the Counsell of his naturall Subjects, disavowing and protesting against the revocation lately propounded and freely granting the inviolable observation of the Liberties, under paine of excommunication, hath yeelded unto him the thirtieth part of all mooveables (reserving yet to every man his ready coyne, horse and armour to be employed for the Commonwealth.) For the collection of this subsidy, it was ordained that foure Knights of every Shiere, and one Clerke of the Kings should upon their Oath receive and deliver the same, eyther unto some Abbay or Castle, to be reserved there, that if the King fayle in performance of his Grants, it might be restored to the Countrey whence it was collected: with this condition often annexed, that the King should leave the Counsell of *Aliens*, and onely use that of his naturall Subjects. Wherein to make shew of his part, hee suddainly causes the Earles *Warren* and *Ferrers*, with *John Fitz Geffery* to be sworne his Counsellors. And so the Parliament ended, but not the businesse for which it was called, the King not giving that satisfactiō to his subjects as he had promised concerning strangers; and besides, that order concluded in Parliament was not

9 Parliament.

1237.

Anno  
Reg. 21

Foure knights  
of every shiire  
ordained to  
take charge of  
the subsidy.

The coming of Simon Monfort to England.

The grievances of the Kingdome.

1238  
Anno  
Reg. 22  
10. Parliament.

observed in the leavying and disposing of the subsidy, but stricter courses taken in the valewing of mens estates, than was held convenient. Moreover *William Valentine* Uncle to the young Queene, is growne onely the inward man with the King, and possesse him so, as nothing is done without his Counsell: the Earle of *Provence*, the father; a poore Prince, is invited to come over to participate of this Treasure, which seemes was disposed before it came in. *Simon de Monfort* a French man borne (banished out of *France* by Queene *Blanch*) is entertained in *England*, and preferred secretly in marriage to *Elionor* the Kings Sister (widdow of *William* Earle of *Pembrooke* Great Marshall) and made Earle of *Leicester* by right of his mother *Amice* daughter of *Blanchman* Earle of *Leicester*. Which courses (with other) so incense the Nobility, and generally all the Subjects, as put them out into a new commotion, and *Richard* the Kings brother (whose youth and ambition apt to be wrought upon,) is made the head thereof; who being as yet Heire apparant of the Kingdome (the Queene being young and child-lesse) the preservation of the good thereof, is argued to concerne him, and he is the man employed to the King, to impart the publike grievances, and to reprehend, first the profusion of his Treasure (gotten by exaction from the subject) and cast away upon Strangers who onely guide him; then the infinite summes he had rayled in his time: How there was no Archbishopricke, or Bishopricke, except *Torke*, *Lincoln* and *Bathe*, but he had made benefit by their Vacancies: besides what fell by Abbayes, Earledomes, Baronies, Wardships and other Escheats; and yet his treasure, which should be the strength of the State, was nothing increased. Moreover, how he as if both despising his, and the Counsell of his naturall Subjects, was so obsequious to the will the Romans, and especially of the Legat whom he had inconsiderately called in, as he seemed to adore his foote-steps, and would doe nothing eyther in publike or private, but by his consent, so that he seemed absolutely the Popes Feudary, which wounded the hearts of his people. The King upon this harsh remonstrance of his brother, and the feare of a present commotion, after he had sounded the affections of the *Londoners*, whom he found resolved to take part against him, hee againe (by the advice of the Legat, who had earnestly dealt with the Earle of *Cornwall*, to reconcile himselfe to his brother, but without effect) calls a Parliament at *London*. Whither the Lords came armed both for their owne safety, and to constrayne the King (if he refused) to the observation of the premises, and reformation of his courses.

Here, after many debates the King (taking his Oath) to referre the businesse to the order of certaine grave men of the Kingdome, Articles are drawne, sealed and publicly set up to the view of all, with the scales of the Legat, and divers great men. But before it came to effect, *Simon Monfort* working his peace with the Earle of *Cornwall*, and the Earle of *Lincolne* likewise (with whom he and the State were displeased) the Earle growes cold in the businesse. The Lords perceiving the staffe of their strength to faile them, failed themselves, so that nothing is effected, and the miseries of the Kingdome continue as they did.

Shortly after, the King takes displeasure against *Gilbert* Earle of *Pembrooke* (the third sonne of *William* the Great Marshall) and caused his gates to be shut against him at *Winchester*, whereupon the Earle retyres into the North. And to shew how inconstant this King was in his favours, *Simon Norman* (intituled Master of the Kings Seale, and not onely so, but sayd to be Master of the Kingdome; yea of the King, the Rector and Disposer of Court) is throwne out with disgrace, the Seale taken from him, and given to the

1239.  
Anno  
Reg. 23

the Abbot of *Evesham*. In like sort, his brother *Geffery* a Knight Templar is put out of the Councell, both of them much maligned by the Nobility: who had often before laboured their amovement, as held to be corrupt councellours, and Wrongers of the State; and now are they false off themselves. But the cause of this their dejection may shew, that oftentimes Officers under weake Princes are not so much faulty, as the World holds them to be; for not yeelding to passe a Grant from the King, made unto *Thomas* Earle of *Flanders* (the Queenes Vncle) of foure pence upon every sacke of Woolf (an enormous at that time accounted) they both lost their places, though not their reputations in this; their fall discovering what the envy that attended their Fortune, hindered men to see. To this Earle of *Flanders*, the next year after the King grants (notwithstanding) 300. Markes (to be payd out of his Exchequer annually, for his homage.

*Thomas* of *Sa- voy* marryeth the inheretrix of the Earldome of *Flanders*, which he held but during her life.

Now, besides the great exaction of the King, and his wastes: The Sea of *Rome* extorts huge Summes, as if one Gulph sufficed not to swallow up the substance of the Kingdome, which opened the mouthes of our Clergy so wide; as they let out many exclamations against the avarice of the Popes of that time: And the Romaine Factors, who by permission of the King, or by his negligence, presumed so farre upon the easie-yeeldingnesse of the State, as they wrung out what they listed. In so much, as besides the Fleece, they would now have the bodies of their possessions. And the Pope sends his Mandate to have three hundred Romaines preferred to the benefices which should be first vacant in *England*; which so amazed the Clergy, and especially *Edmond* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as he, seeing no end of these Conclusions of the State, and Liberties of the Church; and himselfe (on whom the Scandall of all must light, unable by reason of the Kings remission to withstand it, tyred with the vanity of worldly actions) gives over all; and betakes himselfe to a voluntary exile in the Abbay of *Pontinnac* in *France*; and there applies him to the Contemplation of a better life. But before his departure, he yeelds, as a ranome for his Church, eight hundred Markes to the Pope.

*Edmond* Archbishop of *Canterbury* gives over his See.

The Clergy, although thus left by their head, generally oppose what they could against the Popes rapine, who to get mony for his Wars with the Emperour, used daily new and insolent pressures upon them, in so much as they repaire to the King, declare how prejudiciall and derogatory it was to his royalty, and the liberty of the Kingdome to suffer this proceeding, which none of his Predecessors heretofore ever did; And of how dangerous consequence it was to his successors: The King, eyther not apprehensive of the mischief, or content to joine with the Pope to punish and awe the Kingdome, not onely refers them to the Legat, but offers to deliver the chiefe opposers up unto him. Whereupon they seeing themselves forsaken, and no power to succour them but their owne, did what they could to withstand the Legats proceeding, who now by the Kings animation, presumes more peremptorily to urge them to supply the Popes present occasion, and holds a convocation at *London* for effecting the same. Wherein the Clergy declare how this contribution now required by the Pope for the destruction of the Emperour, and effusion of Christian blood, was unlawfull, he being not an Heretick, nor condemned by the judgement of the Church although excommunicated: That it was against the Liberties of the Church of *England*, being required under paine of Ecclesiasticall censure, as a thing of servitude and compulsion: That they had heretofore given a Tenth to the Pope, on condition, that never any such exaction should againe be made, least it might be drawne to a Custome, for as much as *Binus aliam inducat consuetudinem*.

Pope *Gregory* the ninth.



Cod. de Epif.  
copali. Nemo.

That for their businesse in the Court of *Rome*, they were to passe through the Emperours Countries, and the danger they might have thereby: That it was not safe for the Kingdome to impoverish the King, who had many enemies, against whom he must have to sustaine Warre: And besides, how for the furnishing of divers Noble men, undertaking of late the businesse of the Crosse, great contributions had beene made: That the Church of *England* was poore, and hardly able to sustaine it selfe. That a generall contribution was to be made by a generall Councell, &c.

Notwithstanding these reasons, though at first they staggered the Legat, yet such course was taken by winning some of them, upon hope of preferment, as the rest could not without the note of contumacy but yeeld perforce, so, by this treason of devision, the body of the Councell is entered into, and the Pope prevails in this businesse.

Edward eldest  
sonne to King  
Henry.  
Richard Earle  
of Cornwall  
undertakes  
the Crosse.

The King hath now a sonne lately borne, and *Richard* his brother Earle of *Cornwall* having likewise issue (by permission of the State which heretofore he could not obtaine) undertakes the Crosse, and with him his Vncle *William Longsword* Earle of *Salisbury*, and many other Noblemen. These departing out of *England*, *Peter* of *Savoy*, another Vncle to the Queene, comes in, and hath the Earldome of *Richmond* bestowed on him, with many other gifts, he is knighted and feasted sumptuously, for which the poore Iewes by way of redemption, pay 10000 Markes at two termes of that yeare. *Barniface* the sonne of *Peter* of *Savoy*, Nephew to the Queene, is preferred to the Archbishopricke of *Canterbury*. After this the King makes an expedition into *Wales*, which had often put him to great charge and trouble, having beene very unfortunate, in his many attempts against *Llewellyn*, intituled Prince or King of *North-Wales*, who being lately dead, had left his two sonnes *David* and *Griffin*, by division of State to be at discord betweene themselves, whereby he came to make an easier end of that busines, & now onely but with the shew of his power, got that which heretofore he could not with much blood; hath submission, and fealty rendered unto him by *David*, with all his charges for that journey; but now this ended, another attempt of great expence, but lesse benefit is in hand.

1241.  
Anno  
Reg. 25

The Earle of *March* with his wife, the Queene Mother, and many other great Lords of *Poitou*, so worke by their earnest sollicitation, with assurance of successe, as the King is induced to undertake another expedition into *France*. The matter is mooved in Parliament, generall opposition made against it, the great expence, and the ill it last brought to the Kingdome, vehemently urged, How it was unlawfull to breake the truce made with the King of *France*, who was now too strong for them to doe any good, &c.

41 Parlia-  
ment.

Notwithstanding many of the greatest Peeres, drawne by faire promises, and their owne hopes for recovery of their Estates, so prevails, as the action is resolved on, and an Ayde demanded for the same. The very motion for money was so distastefull, as presently all the Kings supplies made from the beginning of his Reigne, are particularly againe, and opprobriously rehearsed, as the 13. 15. 16. and 40. parts of all mens moveables, besides Carucage, Hyddage, Escuage, Escheates, Amercements, and such like, which could not but fill his Coffers. Then the Popes continuall exactions, with the infinite charge for those who undertooke the Holy Warre, are likewise repeated. Besides, they declared how the 30. levied about foure yeares past (in regard it was to be layd up in certaine Castles and not to be issued but by the allowance of foure of the Peeres) was, as they held it, yet unpent: The King, to their knowledge, having had no necessary occasion to employ the

A repetition  
of the Kings  
supplies for-  
merly made.

same.

same, for the use of the Commonwealth, for which it was granted, and therefore resolutely they denied to yeeld him any more. Whereupon the King comes himselfe to the Parliament, and in most submissive manner craves their ayde at this time, urging the Popes letter, which he had procured to sollicite and perswade them thereunto. But all prevailed not, their vow made to each other not to dissever their voyces, or to be drawne to a disunion, held them fast together. Insomuch as the King is driven to get what he could of particular men, eyther by gift or loane, and uses such meanes, as notwithstanding, hee carries over with him thirty Barrells of starling coyne; and taking with him his Queene, leaves the government of the Kingdome to the Archbishop of *York*, having first, for his better quiet at home, contracted a match betweene his daughter *Margaret* (yet an infant) and *Alexander* eldest sonne to *Alexander* the third, King of *Scots*, to whom he commits the government of the Marches.

The King carries over thirty barrells of silver into France.

The second expedition into *France*, had no better successe than the first. For therein he likewise consumed his treasure upon strangers, discontented the English Nobility, was deceived in his trust by the *Poitouvians*, who failed him with his mony, and after more than a whole yeares stay (the Lords of *England* leaving him) was driven to make a dishonourable truce with the King of *France*. And after having beene relieved with much provision out of *England*, and other imposition of *Escuage*, he returnes, puts the Jewes to another redemption; exacts of the *Londoners*; is visited by his wives mother, the Countesse of *Provence*, who, bringing with her *Zanchia* her daughter, is (to adde to his other expences) sumptuously feasted, and a marriage solemnized betweene the young Lady and *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, whose wife was late dead, and he returned from the holy Wars.

The Kings second expedition into France.

An imposition of *elcuage* with another redemption of the Jewes. The Countess of *Provence*, mother to the Queen comes over into *England* to the great charge of the kingdome.

The old Countesse at her returne is presented with many rich gifts, having besides, received an annuall pension of 4000. Markes out of *England* for five yeares passed, in consideration of a pact made, that King *Henry* should, after her decease have the Earledome of *Provence*. But shortly after her returne home, she disappoints him, of that hope; and bestowes the same upon her yongest daughter: *Beatrice*, on *Charles* the French Kings brother, who was after King of *Naples* and *Sicile*. So that she lived to see all her foure daughters Queenes: *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, comming afterwards to be elected King of the *Romans*.

1244.  
Anno  
Reg. 28

1. Parliament.

Meanes now upon these profusions, to have fresh supply of Treasure, was onely by way of Parliament, which is againe in *Anno Reg.* 28. assembled at *Westminster*, and therein the Kings wants, and the present occasions urged for the necessary defence of the Kingdome, having now to doe with *Wales* and *Scotland*, whose Princes lately revolting, joyne together to annoy the same; but nothing could be effected without the assurance of reformation, and the due execution of the Lawes, notwithstanding the King comes againe himselfe in person, as before, and pleades his owne necessities. Heere they desire to have ordayned, that foure of the most grave and discrete *Petres* should be chosen as Conservators of the Kingdome, and sworn of the Kings Councell, both to see Iustice observed, and the Treasure issued, and these should ever attend about the King, or at least three or two of them. Besides, that the Lord chiefe Iusticiar, and the Lord Chancellour, should bee chosen by the generall voyces of the States Assembled, or else bee one of the number of those foure. Besides, they propound that there might bee two Iustices of the Benches, two Barons of the Exchequer; and one Iustice for the Jewes; and those likewise to be chosen by

Parliament. That as their function was publike, so should also be their election.

But whiles these things were in debating, the enemy of mankind and disturber of peace, the Divell, (saith *Mat. Par.*) hindring the proceeding, by the comming of *Martin* a new Legate sent from the Pope, with a larger power than ever any before, to exact upon the State; which hee supposed now to have beene so wrought, and ready, as the Kings turne being served, his likewise should bee presently supplied. But making too much haste before the first had passage, hee frustrates his owne desire, and receives a most peremptory repulle of the whole Kingdome, in so much as his Agent was disgracefully returned home, with this displeasing message. That the Kingdome was poore: had great Warres, the Church in debts, not able to yeeld any more. Besides, this course was of dangerous consequence to this State, which alone seemed exposed to the Popes will, and therefore seeing a generall Councell was shortly to be held at Lyons, if the Church would be relieved, it were fit the same should be done by a generall consent in that Councell.

The Emperour Fredericke writes letters to the king.

Besides, at this time the Emperour *Fredericke*, by his Letters which were openly read in this Assembly, first intreats, as before he had oftentimes done, that the Pope might have no supplies out of England, which (he said) were onely required to revive him, whom contrary to all Piety and Iustice he had oppressed, by seizing upon his Cities and Castles, appertaining to the Empire. And for many yeares (notwithstanding his oftne submission and desire of peace) proceeded in all foule and Hostile manner against him, both by the sword, and unjust excommunications. And seeing he could obtaine no due hearing, he had referred his cause to bee arbitrated by the Kings of England and France, and the Baronage of both Kingdomes. And therefore desires, he might not receive detriment, whence he expected favour, as a brother and friend. Adding in the end, that if if the King would be advised by him, he would by power free this Kingdome from that unjust tribute which *Innocentius the third*, and other Popes had layd upon it. These letters pleased the Assembly and animated them the rather to deny the Popes Mandate.

The interposition of this businesse tooke up so much time, as nothing else was done in this Parliament, onely they granted an ayde to the King, for the marriage of his daughter, twenty shillings of every Knights fee, and that with much adoe and repetition of all his former aydes.

Another advancement of the Barons.

After this, upon a light occasion, the King undertakes an expedition of great charge against *Alexander* King of *Scots*, for which every Baron which held in Capite, Spirituall and Lay, were commanded to bee ready with all Military provision due for that service. Whereunto, likewise repaires *Thomas* Earle of *Flanders* with three score Knights, and a hundred other servants (thirsting for the Kings mony) whose unnecessary coming was ill taken by the Barons of *England*, as if the strength of the Kingdome without him, were not sufficient for that action, which was as suddainly ended as undertaken, by a faire conclusion of Peace with King *Alexander*; a Prince highly commended for his vertues, by the Writers of that time.

13 Parliament

Vpon this returne, againe that Winter he assembles another Parliament, wherein he moves for an ayde, upon a designe he had for *Wales*, and to supply his wants, and pay his debts, which were urged to be so great, as he could not appeare out of his Chamber for the infinite clamor of such to whom he owed for his Wine, Wax, and other necessities of House. But they all to his face, with one voyce, refused to grant him any thing. Whereupon other violent courses are taken. An ancient quarrell is found out against the City of *London*, for which they are commanded to pay fiftene thousand Markes.

And



And *Passeleve* the Kings Clerke is imployed with others in a most peremptory Commission, to inquire of all such Lands, as had beene inforested, and cyther to fine the Occuppers thereof, at their pleasure, or take it from them, and sell the same to others. Wherein such rigor was used, as multitudes of people were undone. So unsafe are private mens estates, where Princes fall into great wants. *Passeleve* for his good service in this businesse should have beene preferred to the Bishopricke of *Chichester*, but the Bishops withstood the King herein. Now, in regard to shew the King the estate of his Kingdome, and the oppression of Popes; Inquiry was made of the revenues which the Romans and *Italians* had in *England*, which was found to be annually sixty thousand Markes, being more than the yearly revenues of the Crowne of *England*: which so mooved the King, as he caused the same to be notified, with all other exactions, by his procurators to the generall Councell now assembled at *Lyons*; which (with the ill usage of *Martin*) so vexed the Pope, as he is sayd to have uttered these words: *It is fit that we make an end with the Emperour, that we may crush these petty Kings, for the Dragon once appeased or destroyed, these lesser Snakes will soone be troden downe.* Which impious speech proceeding from such a mouth, whence the Oracles of peace and charity ought to be uttered, was as ill taken, bred great scandall, and gave warning to Princes of prevention; who, though they maligned the corruptions of the Court of *Rome*, they were yet ever at one with the Church.

And the Clergy of *England* were most forward, to vindicate the State from that miserable oppression which of late by degrees they were drawne unto, through the humility of their zeale: For, such is the nature of Domination, wheresoever it sits, that finding an yeeldingnesse to endure, it never thinkes it hath power sufficient, unlesse it hath more than enough: For, if the Popes (the professed soveraignes of piety) upon the advantage of mens zeale, and beleefe, grew to make their will, and their power equall (so that to question their sanctions was taught to be sinne against the Holy Ghost) no marvelle if secular Princes, whose consciences are untied, strive to breake out into the wildnesse of their wills from those bounds wherein by the law of the State they are placed.

But upon the Popes rejecting the consideration of these grievances of *England* (which were particularly delivered in this councell at *Lyons*) and despising the Kings message (who, he sayd, began to Frederize) it was absolutely here ordained, under great penalty, that no contribution of mony should be given to the Pope by any subject of *England*; and the King, for a time, bustles against the *Forraine* exactions, in such sort as it gave some hope of redresse. But being of an irresolute, and wavering nature, and afeard of threats, soone woman-like gives over what he manfully undertooke: so that the Pope continues his former rapine, though having by the continuall exclamations of the Clergy, beene brought to promise never to send any more Legats into *England*, yet employes he other ministers, under the titles of Clerkes, who had the same power, as had his former Agents, and effected underhand his desires.

Now the other part of the State have new occasions of complaint offered. *Peter of Savoy* Earle of *Richmond* brings over certaine maides to be married to young Noble men of *England* the Kings Wards; of which *Edmond* Earle of *Lincolne* hath one, and *Richard de Burgh* another. And the same yeare three of the Kings brothers by the mother, *Guy de Lusignan*, *William de Valence*, and *Athelmar* Clerke, are sent for over to be provided of estates in *England*. *Thomas of Savoy* (sometimes Earle of *Flanders* by right of his wife) comes with his

An inquiry about Lands inforested, which bred great grievances.

An inquiry of the Popes revenues in *England*.

1245.  
Anno  
Reg. 29

1246.  
Anno  
Reg. 30

1247.  
Anno  
Reg. 31.

1248.

Anno

Reg. 32

14 Parlia-  
ment.

That he tooke  
from his sub-  
jects, quic  
quid habue-  
runt in censu-  
tu: Rusticorum  
enim Equos,  
Bigas, Vinea,  
Villalia ad li-  
bitum caput.  
Risthangar.

his sister *Beatrix* Countesse of *Provence* the *Queenes* Mother: and they are againe feasted and gifted: For which the King is taxed in the next Parliament convoked in *London* in *Candlemas* Terme; and besides sharply reprehended For his breach of promise (upon his requiring of another ayde) having vowed and declared (upon his last supply) by his Charter, never more to injury the State in that kind. Besides they blamed him for his violent taking up of provisions for dyet, Wax, Silkes, Robes, &c. and especially for wine, contrary to the will of the sellers, whereby Merchants both of this, and other Kingdomes withdraw their commodities, in so much as all traffique and commerce utterly cease, to the detriment and infamy of the Kingdome. That his judges were sent in circuit under pretext of justice to fleece the people. That *Robert de Passeleve* had wrung from the borders of Forrests, for incroachments or assarts, great summes of money, and therefore they wonder he should now demand reliefe fro the impoverished commons; and advise him since his needlesse expences (postquam Regni capit esse dilapidator) amounted to be about 800. thousand pounds) that he should pull from his favourites enriched with this Treasure of the Kingdome, and revoke the old Lands of the Crowne.

Then they reprove him for keeping vacant in his hands Bishopricks and Abbeyes, contrary to the liberties of the Church and his oath made at his Coronation. Lastly, they all generally complaine for that the chiefe Justiciar, Chancellor and Treasurer, were not made by the common Councell of the Kingdome, according as they were in the time of his Magnificent Predecessors, and as it was fit and expedient; but such advanced, as followed his will, in whatsoever tended to his gaine, and sought not promotion for the good of the Kingdome, but their owne.

The King patiently indures this reprehension, in hope to obtaine his desire, and gives them promise of redresse, but nothing is effected; after many meetings and much debate the Parliament is proroged till Midsummer following, during which time, they would with Patience expect how the King would beare himselfe towards them, that accordingly they might obey, and satisfie his desire.

But this delay wrought no good, the King through ill Counsell growes more obdurate, and harsh to his people, in so much as at the next Session he makes his speech: Would you curbe the King your Lord, at your unwill pleasure, and impose a servile condition upon him? will you deny unto him what every one of you, as you list, may doe? It is lawfull for every one of you to use what counsell he will, and every master of a Family to preferre to any office in his house whom he pleasis, and to place againe when he list, and will you rashly deny your Lord and King to doe the like? Whereas servants ought not to judge their master, and Subjects their Prince, or hold them to their conditions. For the servant is not above his Lord nor the Disciple above his Master. Neither should he be your King, but as your servants who should forcline to your pleasures: wherefore hee will neither remove the chiefe Justiciar, Chancellor, nor Treasurer, according to their motion. In like manner finds he answers to the rest of their Articles, and for the ayde he required, it concern'd (he saith) their Rights as well as his. And so the Parliament brake up in discontent.

The King is advised to furnish his wants with the sale of his Plate and Jewels of the Crowne, being told that as all Rivers have reflux to the sea, so all these things though sold and dispersed, would revert againe unto him, and therefore it should not moove him; and having with great losse received mony for this ware, he inquires who had bought it, answer was made, the City of *London*: that City, said he, is an unexhaustible Gulph: if *Octavius* treasure were so.

The Kings  
speech in  
Parliament.

Clam. Anno  
48 and 49.  
Henry 3.  
Beginning  
first with sale  
of Land,

he sold they would surely buy it, and there withall inveighes against the City, which had so often ierred his turne, and devised all meane to vex the same, causing shortly after a new Faire to be kept at Westminster, forbidding under great penalty all exercise of Merchandize within London for fiftene dayes, and all other Faires in England, and namely that of Ely. This novelay came to nothing, the inconvenience of the place, as it was then, and the foulness of the weather brought more affliction than benefit to the Traders.

That Christmas also (without respect of royall magnificence) he requies new yeares gifts of the Londoners, and shortly after writes unto them his letters imperiously deprecatory, to ayde him with money, which, with much grudging they doe, to the summe of 10000. pounds, for which, the next year after hee craves pardon of the City, sending for them to Westminster Hall. And notwithstanding his continuall taking up all provisions for his house, he so much lessens his hospitality, (introducing, say they, the Romane custome of dyer) as was held very dishonourable, and unusuall to the English Magnificence of Court.

Then, where he could obtaine nothing of the States together, he calls unto him, or writes to every Noble man apart, declaring his poverty, and how he was bound by Charter in a debt of 30. thousand pounds to those of Flanders, and the Gascoignes, (who otherwise would not suffer him to depart home) at his last being in France, notwithstanding he required nothing but of favour, which where he found, he would returne with the like. And sayling likewise herein, he addressees his letters to the Prelates, where he finds as little reliefe. By much importuniry, and his owne presence, he got of the Abbot of Ramsey 100. pounds, but the Abbot of Bury had a face to refuse him the like summe. Though the King told him it was more Aunces to give unto him, than to a begger that went from doore to doore: the Abbot of St. Albans yet was more kinde, and gave him 60. Markes. (Ed this lownesse, did the necessity of this indigent king (through his profusion) deteine him. The Jewes ever exposed to his will, feele the weight of these his wants, and their Estates are continually ransackt. One Abraham found a delinquent, redemes himselfe for 700. Markes. Aaron another Jew, protests, the King had since his last being in France, taken from him at times, thirty thousand Markes of silver, besides he had given 200. Markes of Gold to the Queene.

The Lords assemble againe at London, and presse him with his promise made unto them, that the chiefe Iusticiar, Chancelour, and Treasurer might be constituted by the generall Councell of the Kingdome, but by reason of the absence of Richard Earle of Cornwall, which was thought to be of purpose, they returne frustrate of their desire. So that discontentment still goes on, and neither side gets any thing but by hard wrislings, which became a heavie burthen, and shew us the miseries of a disjoynted time.

The King labours the Covent of Daresbury to perswade his brother Archbishop to the Bishopricke, the Covent refuses him, in regard of his youth and insufficiency, the King answers, that though he would keepe the Bishopricke eight or nine yeares more in his hand, till his brother were of more maturity. Shortly after the Bishopricke of Winchester falls voyde, and thither he sends presently his solicitors to prepare the Monkes of the Cathedral Church, to elect his brother, and for that he would not have also their repulse, he suddainly goes thither himselfe in person, enters the Chapterhouse as a Bishop or Prior, gets up into the Presidents Chaire, begins a Sermon, and takes his text, Justice and Power hath kissed each other, and thereupon says these words, *Tu rex, and I am King,*

then of Jewes, pawneth Gascoigne, and after his Crowne, when having neither credit nor pawns of his owne, he layeth the ornaments and Jewels of Saint Edwards thino, gives over house-keeping.

1249.

Anno

Reg. 33

The King requies New-yeares gifts.

1251

Anno

Reg. 35

The King

1250

Anno

Reg. 34

The King

1250

Anno

Reg. 34

The King

1250

Anno

Reg. 34

The King

1250

Anno

Reg. 34

The King

1250

Anno

Reg. 34

The King



Kings, and to our Princes and Iusticiars, who are to governe the people, belong the rigor of Iudgement, and Iustice: to you, who are men of quiet and religion, peace and tranquillity: and this day I heare, you hope (for your owne good) hence favourable to my request. Iustice and Peace hath kissed each other. Once I was offended with you for withstanding me in the election of William Rale your late Bishop, a man I liked not, but now I am friends with you for this, and will both remember and reward your kindnesse. As by a woman came destruction to the World, so by a woman came the remedy. I so satisfy my wife, desirous to preferre her Uncle William Valentine, disguised and damnified you, so now, willing to advance my brother, by the Mother, will reconcile my selfe unto you, &c. And you are to consider how in this City I was borne, and in this Church Baptized. Wherefore you are bound unto me in a straighter bond of affection, &c. Then commends hee the high birth and good parts of his Brother, and what honour and benefis they should have by electing him, but concludes with some threatening. So that the Monkes seeing him thus to require the Bishopricke, held it in vaine to deny him, and Athelmar is elected though with this reservation, if the Pope allowed thereof. Shortly after follows the memorable cause of Sir Henry de Bath a Iusticiar of the Kingdome, and an especiall Councillor to the King, who by corruption had attayned to a mighty Estate, and is sayd in one circuit to have gotten 200. pound land per annum; he is accused by Sir Phillip Darcy of falsehood in the Kings Court, and the King so incenced against him, as in the Parliament about this time holden in London, Proclamation is made, that who soever had any action or complaint against Henry de Bath, should come and be heard: one of his fellow Iusticiars accused him of acquitting a malefactor for a bribe. The King seeing the friends of the accused strong, breakes out into rage, protesting that who soever would kill Henry de Bath should be acquitted for the deede: but afterwards he becomes pacified by the Earle of Cornwall, and the Bishop of London, who urged the danger of the time, the discontentment of the Kingdom, and how the proceeding in such a manner with one of his Councill, whom he had used in so great businesse, would discourage others to serve such a Master, who upon malicious accusations should so forsake them, whose places were ever exposed to envy and distraction. And thereupon Sir Henry is released paying 1000. Markes, and after restored to his former place and favour.

The King keeping his Christmas at Torke, the marriage is solemnized betweene Alexander King of Scots, and Margaret his Daughter, the ryor of which feast with the vaine expences of apparell (the note of a diseased time) is described by our author, who amongst other things, reports how the Archbishop gave 80. fat Oxen which were spent at one meale; besides, that feast cost him 4000. Markes, which shewes, the poverty of the Church, was not so great as it was pretended to be, seeing when they would shew that glory, they could finde what they denied at other times.

The Pope sollicites the King to undertake the Crosse, and so doth Alphonsus King of Castile. Offering to accompany him in Person to rescue the King of France. Who having even emptied his Country both of Treasure and Nobility, was now taken prisoner by the Soldian, and held in miserable captivity. A rancome collected for him in France, with great vexation, is by tempest cast away on the Sea, other meanes are made for treasure, which could not easily be had: the captive King offers to restore Normandy to the King of England so hee would come to his rescue. Which, the Nobility of France takes ill and disdaineth the weakenesse of their King, upon the Popes sollicitation and the grante of a Tenth of the Clergy and Layety for three yeares

The cause of  
Sir Henry  
de Bath.

1251.

Anno

Reg. 35

15 Parli-  
ament.

The marriage  
of Margaret  
with Alexan-  
der King of  
Scots, solemn-  
ized at Torke.

The King of  
France prison-  
er by the  
Soldian.

to come, the King of *England* undertakes the Crosse, rather it seemes to get the mony than with any purpose to performe the journey. Which, had it bene collected, would (saith *Paris*) have amounted to 600. thousand pound, to the utter impoverishing of the Kingdome, which was that, they both sought, but by severall wayes; for many now began to discover, that the Pope, by this imbarcking the Princes of Christendome in this remore, and consuming warre, to wast them, their Nobility and Kingdome, was onely but to extend his owne power and domination.

The King by Proclamation calls the *Londoners* to *Westminster*, and there causes the Bishops of *Worcester* and *Chichester*, to declare his intentions; and exhort the people to undertake the crosse and attend him; but few are mooved by their perswasions, onely three Knights (and they of no great note) are nominated, whom the King presently, in open view, embraces, kisses and calls brethren, checking the *Londoners* as ignoble mercenaries, for that few of them were forward in this action; notwithstanding he there takes his Oath for performing of the same, and to set forth presently upon Midsummer day next. In taking his oath, he layes his right hand on his breast (according to the manner of a Priest) and after on the booke, and kist it, as a Lay man.

A Parliament about this Tenth (granted by the Pope but not the people) is called at *London*, the Bishops are first dealt withall (as being a worke of piety) to induce the rest; they absolutely refuse the same: then the Lords are set upon, they answer: *What the Bishops (who were first to give their wayce consent unto) they would allow the same:* this shuffling put the King into so great rage as he drave out all that were in his Chamber, as he had been mad. Then falls he to his former course, to perswade them apart, sends first for the Bishop of *Eley*, deales with him in all milde and kinde manner, recounting the *Many favours he had received at his hands: how forward he had found him heretofore to supply his occasions* &c. and intreats him now to give good example to others, &c. The Bishop replies, *He was glad at any time to have done him acceptable service, but in this, for himselfe, to goe from that forme, the universality of the state had determined, he held it a dishonest act; and therefore besought his Highnesse he would not urge him thereunto, dissuading him from that journey by the example of the King of France, on whom, he might see the punishment of God to be false; for his rapine made on his peoples substance, wherewith he had now enriched his enemies, who were growne fat with the infinite treasure of the Christians transported into those parts.*

The King seeing the resolution of this grave Bishop, in great passion commaunded his servants to thrust him out of doore, perceiving by this what was to be expected of the rest; and so falls to his former violent courses. During this Parliament (an ill time for tutors) *Isabel Countesse of Arundel* (widow) comes unto him about a Warde detained from her, in regard of a small parcell of land held in Capite (which drew away all the rest) the King giving her a harsh answer and turning away, she sayd unto him: *My Lord, why turne you away your face from Justice, that we can obtaine no right in your Court; you are constituted in the middest betwixt God and us; but neither governe your selfe nor us discretely as you ought, you shamefully vex both the Church and Nobles of the Kingdome by all meanes you may: To which speech the King disdainfully replies: Lady Countesse hath the Lords made you a Charter and sent you (for that you are an Eloquent speaker) to be their advocate and prolocutrix? No Sir, (saith she) they have not made any Charter to me. But the Charter which your father and you made, and sworne so often to observe, and so often extorted from your subjects their mony for the same, you unworthily transgresse, as a manifest breaker*

The King of England undertakes the Crosse.

1252.  
Anno  
Reg. 36

The Bishops and Lords deny the King the tenth granted by the Pope

The speech of Isabel Countesse of Arundel to the King

breaker of your faith. Where are the Liberties of England, so often written, so often granted, so often bought? I (though a woman) and with me, all your naturall, and faithfull people, appeale against you to the tribunall of that High Iudge above; and heaven and earth shall bee our witnesse, that you have most unjustly dealt with us, and Lord God of revenge, avenge us. Herewithall the King disturbed, asked her if shee expected no grace from him being his kinswoman: How shall I hope for grace, sayd he, when you deny me right? and I appeale before the face of Christ against those Counsellors of yours, who, onely greedy of their owne gaine, have bewitched and insatuated you.

The King reprooved by the Master of the Hospitall of Ierusalem.

As boldly, though in fewer words, is he reprooved by the Master of the Hospitall of Ierusalem in *Clarken-well*, who comming to complaine of an injury committed against their Charter, the King told him: *The Prelates, and especially the Templars and Hospitalers, had so many Liberties and Charters that their riches made them proud, and their pride mad, and that those things which were unadvisedly granted, were with discretion to be revoked; and alledges how the Pope had often recalled his owne grants, with the clause non obstante, and why should not he cassiere those Charters inconsiderately granted by him, and his Predecessors: What say you Sir (sayd the Prior,) God forbid so ill a word should proceede out of your mouth. So long as you observe Iustice you may be a King, and as soone as you violate the same, you shall leave to be a King.*

The Fryer Minors, to whom he had sent a load of Frees to cloath them, returned the same with this message: *That he ought not to give Almes of what he had rent from the poore, neither would they accept of that abominable gift. With these and many such like bolde incounters (ill becomming the obedience of Subjects) is this King affronted: to shew us the ill complexion of the time, and how miserable a thing it is for a Prince to loose his reputation, and the love of his people, whereby they both have their vexations.*

Strangers commit ryots.

And daily more and more hardned hee is against the English: whereby Strangers are made so insolent, as they commit many ryots and oppressions in the Kingdome. *William de Valence* (whose youth and presumption went which way his will led him) goes from his Castle of *Hartford* to a Parke of the Bishop of *Eley*, lying neare his Manner of *Hatfield*, where after having spoyled much game he enters into the Bishops house, and finding no drinke but Ale, causes the Cellar doore being strongly barred, to be broken open by his people, who after they had drunke their fill, let out the rest on the floore. But a greater violence than this was offered to an Officiall of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* by the commandement of the Elect of *Winchester* (the one brother to the Queene, the other to the King) which troubled them both and gave them much to doe before it was appeased. *Guy de Lusignan*, the other brother of the King comming as a guest to the Abbot of *S. Albans*, violates the Rights of Hospitality, and many other injuries are reported by our Author to have beene committed by Strangers, and much complaint is made, of that time, wherein, this was said to be the usuall exclamation. *Our inheritance is given to Aliens, and our houses to Strangers*, which notwithstanding the King seekes still to preferre.

A daughter of *Guy de Lusignan* Earle of *Angolisme* is married to *Richard* (or *Gilbert de Clare*) Earle of *Gloucester*, a man eminent, and dearely loved of the Nobility; Learned in the Lawes of the Land; and held a great Patriot: which manacle of alliance lockt not yet his hands from defending the liberties of his Country; the King promises her a dowry of five thousand Marks, which he sought to borrow of divers, but could not.

The



The City of London is againe compelled to the contribution of 1000 Markes; and the Gascoignes being upon revolt (unlesse speedy remedy were taken) generall mulsters are made, and commandement given, that whosoever could dispend thirteene pounds *per annum*, should furnish out a horseman. This with the extreame wants of the King, occasions another Parliament, wherein the State began, it seemes, wisely to consider, that all their oppositions did no good, the King turne must be served one way or other, some must pay for it; and where it lighted on particulars, it was farre more heavy than it could be in generall; and therefore they agreed to relieve him, rather by the usuall way, than force him to those extravagant courses which he tooke. But so, as the reformation of the government and ratification of their Lawes, might be once againe solemnely confirmed.

And after fifteene dayes consultation to satisfie the Kings desire, for his holy expedition (a Tenth is granted by the Clergy) which yet by view of the Lords should, upon his setting forth, be distributed for three yeares; and Scutage, three Markes of every Knights fee, by the Laytie for that yeare. And now againe those often confirmed Charters are ratified, and that in the most solemn and ceremoniall manner, as Religion and State could ever devise to doe.

The King with all the great Nobility of England, all the Bishops & chiefe Prelates in their reverend Ornaments, with burning candles in their hands, assemble to heare the terrible sentence of Excommunication against the infringers of the same. And, at the lighting of those Candles, the King having received one in his hand, gives it to a Prelate that stood by, saying, *It becomes not me being no Priest to hold this candle, my heart shall be a greater testimony*, and withall, laid his hand spread on his breast the whole time the sentence was read, which was thus pronounced: *Autoritate dei omnipotentis, &c.* which done, he caused the Charter of King John his Father, granted by his free consent to be likewise openly read. In the end, having throwne away their candles, (which lay smoaking on the ground) they cryed out: *So let them who incurre this sentence be extinct, & stinke in hell.* And the King with a loud voyce said: *As God me helpe I will, as I am a Man, a Christian, a Knight, a King crowned and annoyned, inviolably observe all these things.* And therewithall the Bels rung out, and all the people shouted with joy.

Never were Lawes amongst men (except those holy Commandements from the Mount) established with more majesty of ceremony, to make them reverend and respected than were these: they wanted but thunder and lightning from heaven (which if prayers could have procured, they would likewise have had) to make the sentence gastly and hideous to the infringers thereof. The greatest security that could be given was an Oath (the onely chaine on earth, besides love to tye the conscience of a man and humane society together) which, should it not hold us, all the frame of government and other must needs fall quite asunder.

Now the businesse of Gascoigne (that required present care) is in hand, which the better to know, wee must returne to the head whence it sprung: twenty seven yeares past, the King by the counsell of the Lords, freely granted to his brother Richard II that Province, who is there received as their Lord, with their oathes of fealty made unto him; and so continues, untill the King (having issue of his own, by motion of the Queene) revokes his gift, and confers it upon the eldest son Edward. Richard, though he were deprived of the possessions, would not yeeld to forgoe his right, and at the Kings last being in Gascoigne, many of them stood doubtfull whom to attend; the King

A Tenth and  
Scutage granted by Parliament.

1253.  
Anno  
Reg. 37

The King resumes Gascoigne from his brother Richard, gives it to his sonne Prince Edward.

in great displeasure commanded his brother to resigne his Charter, and renounce his right, which he refusing to doe, the King commands those of *Burdeaux* to take and imprison him; but they (in regard of his high blood, the homage they had made him, & the Kings mutability, who might repent his own commandement) would not adventure thereon. Then he assailes them with money, which effected more than his commandement: The Earle is in danger to be surpris'd, escapes out of *Burdeaux*, and comes over into *England*.

The King assembles the Nobility of *Gascoigny* at *Burdeaux*; inveighes against his brother: A man, said he, was covetous and a great oppressour, a large promiser, but a spare payer; and that hee would provide them of a better Government: Withall, promises them thirty thousand Markes (as a price of their obedience) and so nullifies the Charter of his former donation, with their homage, and takes thereof fealty to himselfe. Which yet they would not make unto him, till he had inwrapt himselfe both by his Charter & Oath for this promised summe: whereunto they so held him, as thereby afterward they lost his love. And to be revenged on them, he sends *Simon Monfort* Earle of *Leicester*, a rough and martiall man, to master their pride: makes him a Charter for six yeares to come, and furnishes him with 10000 Markes the better to effect his command. *Monfort* by his sterne government so discontentes the *Gascoignes*, as after three yeares suffering, they send the Archbishop of *Burdeaux* with other great men to complaine of his hard dealing, and accuse him of haynous crimes: Their greevances are heard before the King and his Councell. *Monfort* is sent for over, to answer for himselfe, the Earle of *Cornwall* for his received wrong in those parts, and the Lords of *England* for their love to him, take *Monforts* part; and that so eagerly, as the King comes about to favour and countenance the *Gascoignes* against *Monfort*; not for his love to them, but to awe and abate the other. Whereupon *Monfort* enters into undutifull contestation with the King, upbraides him with his expencefull service: wherein he sayes, hee had utterly consumed his Estate: And how the King had broken his word with him; and requires him either to make it good according to his Charter, or render him his expences. The King in great rage told him, no promise was to be observed with an unworthy Traytor: Wherewith *Monfort* rises up protesting, that he lyed in that word, & were he not protected by his Royall dignity, he would make him repent it. The King commands his servants to lay hold on him, which the Lords would not permit. *Monfort* thereupon grew more audacious, saying, who will beleieve you are a Christian? were you ever confessed? if you were, it was without repentance and satisfaction. The King told him, he never repented him of any thing so much, as to have permitted him to enter into his kingdome, and to have honoured and instated him as he had done.

The *Gascoignes* after this, are privately sent for by the King, who gives them all comfort, and encourages them against *Monfort*, whom yet he would againe send over to his charge, but with clipt wings, whereby both himselfe and they might the better be revenged on him; and withall confirms the state of *Gascoigne* to his son *Edward*, whom he promised them shortly to send over, wherewith they are much pleased, and after they had done their homage to the Prince, depart. The effect of this confused and ill-packt businesse was such, as all indirect courses produce. *Monfort* returns in flames to plague the *Gascoignes*, and they in like manner him; but he by his great alliance in *France*, drawes together such a power, as beyond expectation, he overmatches the *Gascoignes*, whose estates he exposes to spoyle, and therewithall entertaines

*Simon Monfort*  
Earle of *Leicester*  
sent into  
*Gascony*.

*Monforts* con-  
testation with  
the King.

*Monforts* retur-  
ned to his  
charge.

entertaines great collected Armies. They againe send over their complaints; and unlesse they were speedily releevd, they of force must put their Country into some other hand, that would protect them.

And in this state stood *Gascoigne* now at the time of this last Parliament, whither the King, upon this late supply granted (omitting his Easterne enterprize) goes with 300 Sayle of great ships, and lands at *Burdoux* in *August*, Anno Reg. 38. having first deposed *Simon Monfort* from the government there, and makes voide this Charter by proclamation. *Monfort* retires from thence, & is offered entertainment by the *French*, but refuses it. Before Winter the King had in some sort appeased the *Gascoignes*, and taken in such Castles, as had long held out against him, and the late Governour. For they having put themselves under the protection of the King of *Spaine*; who being so neere a neighbour, and the discontents and factions of the Country strong, caused the King of *England* with more haste and care to look to his worke, and the rather, for that the King of *Spaine* pretended title to *Aquitaine*; of whom that King *Henry* might be the more secure, he sends to treat with him of a marriage betwixt Prince *Edward* and his sister *Elionor*, whereunto the King of *Spaine* willingly consents.

The King of *England* keepes his Christmas at *Burdoux*. The Queene sends him a new-yeares-gift of 500 Markes, and the next Summer, with the Prince goes over unto him. The marriage is solemnized at *Burgos*, where the King of *Spaine* knights the Prince, and by his Charter quits his claime to *Aquitaine*, for him and his successors for ever. The King of *England* invests the Prince and his wife therein, and besides gives unto him *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Bristow*, *Stamford* & *Grantham*. This businesse dispatched, the King prepares to returne, having consumed all whatsoever hee could get in his journey, which with the other two he had before made, was reckoned to have cost him twenty seven hundred thousand pounds, and was said to be more than all the Lands he had there (should they be sold) were worth; which, when hee was told, he willed it might not be revealed in publick to his disgrace.

Now in regard of danger by sea, he obtaines leave of the King of *France* (lately returned from captivity) to passe through his Country; and comes to *Paris* with a 1000 Horse, besides Sumpters, and Carts, where hee stayes eight dayes, is sumptuously feasted, and with as great magnificence feasts the King of *France*. This meeting, in regard of the two Queenes sisters, and their other two sisters the Countesse of *Cornewall* and *Provence* (who were likewise afterward Queenes) was made the more triumphant and splendidous. The King about Christmas arrives in *England*, and the first that paid for his comming home were the *Londoners* and the *Jewes*. The *Londoners* presenting him with 100 pounds, were returned without thanks: then being perswaded, that plate would be better welcome, they bestowed 200 pounds in a faire vessell: that had some thanks, but yet served not the turne. An offence is found, about the escaping of a prisoner, for which they pay 3000 Markes. Now complaines he of his debts, which he sayes to be 300000 Markes, and how his owne meanes was diminished by the preferment of the Prince, who carried away 15000 Markes per annum, and money must be had howsoever. First, he begins to serve his present turne with loanes, and borrowes great summes of the Earle of *Cornwall*, upon pawne, and after the King had wrung what he could from the *Jewes*, he lets them out to Farme to this rich Earle to make the best of them.

Then a Parliament is called in Easter Terme, which yeelds nothing but returnes of greivances, and complaint of breach of Charter, with requiring their

The King goes over into *Gascoigne* with 300 great ships.

Alliance with the King of *Spaine*.

1254.

Anno Reg. 38

Prince *Edward* marries *Elionor* sister to the king of *Spaine*.

King *Henry* comes to *Paris* with 1000 horse, is feasted by the King of *France*.

He returnes into *England*, fines the *Londoners*.



1275.

Anno

Reg. 41

16 Parliament  
adjourned.

Pope Alex. 4:

Edmond the  
Kings second  
son is promi-  
sed the king-  
dome of Sicile.

1275

88. 700

Lambert

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their former pretended rights in electing the Iusticiar, Chancellour, and Treasurer. After much debate to no purpose, the Parliament is prorogued till Michaelmas after, when likewise the Kings motion for money is disappointed, by reason of the absence of many Peeres, being not, as was allcaded, summoned according to the tenor of *Magna Charta*. New occasions of charge and dislike arise: *Thomas Earle of Savoy*, the Queenes brother hath warres with the City of *Thuren*, and must be supplied by the King and Queene, & his brother *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. The elect Bishop of *Toledo*, brother to the King of *Spainne* with other great men come over, lye at the Kings charge, and are presented with great gifts. Shortly after, *Elionor* the Princes wife arrives with a multitude of *Spaniards*, and shee must be met, and received by the *Londoners* in sumptuous manner; and her people after many Feastings returned home with presents. The Pope sends the Bishop of *Bononia* with a Ring of investiture, to *Edmond* the second sonne for the kingdome of *Sicile* (with the hope of which kingdome his predecessour *Innocent* the fourth had before deluded the King himselfe) and he is returned with a great reward. Then comes *Ruffandus* with power to collect the Tenth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, to the use of the Pope and the King, and to absolve him from his Oath for the holy Warre: so that hee would come to destroy *Manfred* son to the Emperour *Frederick*, now in possession of the kingdome of *Sicile* & *Apulia*. And this man likewise hath great gifts bestowed on him, besides a rich Prebend in *York*: but yet he obtained not what hee came for, of the Clergy, who protested, rather to lose their lives and livings, than to yeeld either to the will of the Pope or the King, who, they said, were as the Sheapheard and the Wolfe combined to macerate the Flock.

The Pope sent likewise to borrow of the Earle of *Cornwall* 500 Markes, in regard of his Nephewes preferment to the kingdome of *Sicile*, but the Earle refused it, saying, *He would not lend his money to one on whom he could not distraine*. So this project came to nothing, though all meanes were used to draw it on. Newes was spread that *Manfreds* Forces were utterly defeated, & himselfe either slaine or taken prisoner: wherewith the King is so much joyed, as he presently vowes with all speede to make an expedition thither, and gives his sonne *Edmond* no other Title but King of *Sicile*. This vaine hope had already, by the cunning of the Popes inwrapt him in obligations of a hundred and fifty thousand Markes. But shortly after this newes proves false, and the contrary is notified. *Manfred* is victorious, and the Popes power defeated by those of *Apulia*, who tooke such indignation that the Pope should give away their Countrey (without their consent) to an unknowne Stranger, as with all their maine power they joyne to establish *Manfred*, who is now found to be the legitimate sonne of *Frederick*, and confirmed in his right, which a strong sword will make howsoever.

The King keeps his *Christmas* at *Winchester*, where the Merchants of *Gascogne* having their wines taken from them by the Kings Officers, without due satisfaction, complaine to the Prince, being now their Lord, and shew him, *How they were better to trade with Sarazins and Infidels, than thus to be used here, as they were*. The Prince addressees him to his Father, and craves redresse herein, but the Officers having beene with the King before to prevent the clamours of the *Gascoignes*, and telling him, *How they falsely exclaime, relying wholly upon the Princes favour, who tooke upon him their unjust cause (and that there ought to be but one in England, to whom the ordering of justice appertained)* put him into so great a rage with the Prince, as he breaks out into these words: *See now my blood & mine owne bowels impagme me, behold my son, as my brother*

The complaint  
of the Mer-  
chants of  
*Gascogne*.An ill Office  
of Officers.

brother hath done, is bent to afflict me, the times of my grandfather Henry the second, are againe renewed, what will become of us? But this passion being allayed by Counsell, he dissembles the matter, and gives order, that these injuries should be redressed. But yet the Prince for more caution, amplifying his traine, rode with 200 horie. So easly are jealousies by evill Ministers infused into Kings, who are of themselves too apprehensive in that kinde, being a thing that soone turnes the blood.

And now to adde to the misery of these times, there are new mischiefs committed by the insolence of the Servants of the Prince, who being himselfe young, was attended by many youthfull and violent spirits, many strangers, and men without meanes, who, wheresoever he went, made spoyle, and tooke for their owne, whatsoever they could fasten on, to the extreame vexation of the subject. And they report, how this Prince meeting a young man travailing on the way, caused one of his eares to be cut off, and one of his eyes put out: which foule act made many to suspect his disposition, and what he would prove hereafter. And indeed, had he not bene endued with an innated noblenesse of nature (which, with his long experience in travaile and great actions overcame the vices, the loosenesse of the time, and his owne breeding contracted) he might have proved as bad as any other. For, unlesse Princes of themselves, by instinct from above be indued with a naturall goodnesse, they shall gaine litle by their education, wherein they are rather shewed what they are, than what they should be; and are apter to learne to know their greatnesse than themselves; being everfoothed in all whatsoever they doe.

Insolencies  
committed by  
the Princes  
servants.

These youthfull actions of this Prince, with his riotous traine (which are said to be more ravenous than those which *Louys* brought out of *France* with him) put out the *Welsh* (of whom he had now the government) into open act of rebellion; and to make spoyle of the *English*, as he did of them: whereupon he craves meanes of his Father, the *Queene*, and his Vncle *Richard* to suppress them. But all was vented already, the Kings Treasure was gone over the *Alpes*, Earle *Richard* had lent more than he could get in, and the Earle of *Sauoy* in his warres had spent that of the *Queene*.

The King is still at his shifts to supply his everlasting necessities. Now he comes himselfe into his Exchequer, and with his owne voyce pronounced, That every Shrieve which appeared not yearly in the Octaves of S. Michel, with his money, as well of his Farmes as amercements and other dues: for the first day should be amerced five Markes, for the second ten, for the third fiftene, for the fourth to be redeemed at the Kings pleasure. In like sort, that all Cities and Freedomes which answer by their Bayliffes, upon the same default should be amerced, and the fourth day to lose their freedoms. Besides, every Sherife throughout England is amerced at five Markes, for that they did not distraine within their Countreies upon whomsoever held 10 pound land per annum, and came not to bee made Knight, or freed by the King. Then falls he to the examination of measures for Wine and Ale, for Bushels and Weights, which likewise brought in some small thing, and every yeare commonly hath one quarrell or other to the *Londoners*, and gets some-thing of them.

But now there fell out a busines that entertained some time, and gave occasion to amaze the world with conceit of some great advantage and honour to the kingdome, by the election of *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, to be King of the *Romans*, which was (as our Writers say) by the generall consent of all the Electors, & by them is he sent for to receive that Crown: the matter is here debated in Councell. Some, who thought his presence necessary to sway busi-

The Earle of  
*Cornwall* ele-  
cted King of  
the *Romans*.

nesses in the kingdome, were unwilling and dissuade him by example of the miserable destruction of two lately elected to that dignity, *Henry the Lantgrave of Turing*, & *William Earle of Holland*; but others, & especially the King (who was willing to be ridde of him, as one he had often found too great for a subject; and being a King abroad he might make use of him) perswades to take it upon him, which he is easily (though seeming otherwise) induced to doe.

But the *German Writers* (who are best witnesses of their owne affaires) declare, how after the murder of the Earle of *Holland*, the Electors were divided about the choyce of a successor. Some stiffe to uphold their ancient custome in electing one of their owne Countrey, which was more naturall. Others, of a stranger, who might better support their declining State, which was more politick. Long were the conflicts of their Counsels: hereupon in the end, their voyces who stood for strangers were most, but they likewise disagreed among themselves, some would have *Richard* brother to the King of *England*, others *Alphonse* King of *Spaine*, both of them not only contending who should have it, but who should give most to buy it: in the end *Richard* being neerest at hand, and his money the readier, is preferred by the Bishop of *Mentz*, the Bishop of *Cologne*, and the *Palgrave*, whose voyces he is said to have bought, and afterward is crowned at *Aquisgrane*. Now to confirme himselfe, say they, in his State, he proceeds in all violent and hostile manner (according as was set on) against those who opposed his election; & having consumed himselfe both by his excessive gifts, in purchasing the suffrages he had, and by this prosecution, he came to be dispossessed, forsaken, and forced to returne into *England* to his brother *Henry*, then in warre with his Nobles. Thus they deliver it.

*Richard crowned at Aquisgrane.*

But before the Earle departed out of *England*, the Earle of *Glocester*, and Sir *John Mansell*, were sent into *Germany* to sound their affections, and how they stood disposed towards him. They returne well perswaded of the businessse, and shortly after the Archbishop of *Cologne* comes to conduct him over, on whom the Earle bestowes 500 Markes towards his charges, and a rich Miter set with precious stones. This Prince the Earle of *Cornwall* is reported able to dispend 100 Markes a day for ten yeares, besides his revenues in *England*.

The *French*, and especially the King of *Spaine*, are much displeased with this advancement, complaining to the Pope and the King of *England* of the supplantation of the Earle of *Cornwall*. *Spaine* pretending to have beene first elected, but being, it seemes, a Philosopher, and studious in the Mathematicks (which he first revived in *Europe*) he was drawing lines when he should have drawne out his purse, and so came prevented of his hopes.

About the time of the departure of Earle *Richard* in the jollity of the kingdome upon this new promotion, and to set forward another the King calls a Parliament, wherein (bringing forth his sonne *Edmond* clad in an *Apulian* habit) he uses these words: Behold my good subjects, heere my sonne *Edmond* whom God of his grace hath called to the dignity of Regall excellencie, how fitting and worthy is he the favour of you all, and how inhumane and tyrannous were he who (in so important a necessity) would deny him counsell and ayde. And then shewes them, how by the advise and benignity of the Pope, and the Church of *England*, he had for attaining the kingdome of *Sicile* bound himselfe, under covenant of losing his kingdome of *England*, in the summe of 140 thousand Markes. Moreover, how he had obtained the tenth of the Clergy, for three yeares to come, of all their benefices to be estimated according to the

1257.  
Anno  
Reg. 41  
15 Parliament

new



new rate, without deduction of expences unlessse very necessary: besides their first Fruits likewise for three yeares. Which declaration, how pleasing it was to the Clergy, may be judged by their former grudgings. Notwithstanding after they had made their pittifull excuses, in regard of their poverty, they promised upon the usuall condition of *Magna Charta, &c.* so often sworne, bought and redeemed, to give 52 thousand Markes, but this satisfied him not.

The next yeare after is another Parliament at London, wherein, upon the Kings pressing them againe, for meanes to pay his debts to the Pope: the Lords tell him plainly: *They will not yeeld to pay him any thing. And if unadvisedly hee without their consents and counsell bought the kingdome of Sicile, and had beene deceived, he should impute it to his owne imbecillity, and be contented by the example of his provident brother, who, when the same kingdome was offered unto him by Albert the Popes Agent, absolutely refused it, in regard it lay so farre off; so many Nations betwene: the cavils of the Popes: the infidelity of the people; and the power of the pretender, &c.* Then repeat they their owne greevances, *The breach of his promises, contemning both the keyes of the Church, and the Charter he had solemnly sworne to observe: the insolence of his brethren and other strangers, against whom, by his order, no Writ was to passe out of the Chancery for any cause whatsoever: How their pride was intolerable, especially that of William de Valence, who most reproachfully had given the lye to the Earle of Leicester, for which he could not be righted upon his complaint: How they abounded all in riches, and himselfe was so poore, as hee could not repress the same forces of the Welch that wasted his Countrey, but going the last yeare against them and effecting nothing, returned with dishonour.* The King hearing this, (as he was apt upon rebukes soundly urged to be sensible, and his owne necessities constraining him thereunto) humbles himselfe, and tels them: *How hee had often by ill counsell beene seduced, and promises by his oath, which hee takes on the tombe of S. Edward, to reforme all these errors.* But the Lords not knowing how to hold their ever-changing Protens (saith Paris) in regard the businesse was difficult, get the Parliament to be adjourned till S. Barnabas day; and then to assemble at Oxford. In the meane time the Earles Gloucester, Leicester, Hereford, the Earle Marshall, Bigod, Spencer, and other great men confederate, and provide by strength to effect their desire. Whilest the King put to his shifts to obtaine money; gets the Abbot of Westminster, upon promise of high preferment to put his Seale; and that of his Cowent was deede obligatory, as a surty for three hundred Markes, that by his example he might draw on others to doe the like. Sending his trusty Counsellors and Clerke Simon Passelene abroad with his Letters, and this Deede unto other Monasteries. But Passelene, notwithstanding all the diligence and skill he could use by threatens or otherwise; telling them, *How all they had come from the benignity of Kings, and how their Sovereigne was Lord of all they had, they flatly refuse to yeeld to any such Deede; saying, they acknowledged the King to be Lord of all they had, but so, as to defend, not to destroy the same.* And thus he comes likewise disappointed in this project.

The Prince, who likewise must participate in the wants of his Father, was driven to mortgage the Towne of Stamford, Braham, and many other things, to William de Valence, who out of his store supplied him with money, which after turned to the good of neither, for it laid a recement on the necessity of the one, which made him breake through his bands, and envy on the other, whose superfluity made him odious.

But now comes assembled the Parliament at Oxford, and in a hot season,

52 Thousand Markes, upon conditions promised by the Clergy.

1258.

Anno Reg. 42

Prince Edward mortgages Stamford and other townes to William de Valence.

The Barons  
expostulate for  
their former  
liberties.

(the worst time for consultation) and here burst out that great impostume of discontent so long in gathering. The traine which the Lords brought with them was pretended to be for some exploit against the *Welsh*, upon the end of the Parliament; and their securing the ports to prevent Forrainers; but the taking order for keeping of the Gates of *London*, and their Oathes and hands given to each other, shewed, that they were prepared to make the day theirs. Here they begin with the expostulation of the former liberties, and require the observation thereof, according unto the Oathes and Orders formerly made. The chiefe Iusticiar, Chancellour, and Treasurer to be ordained by publick-choyce: The twenty foure Conservators of the kingdome to be confirmed, twelve by the election of the Lords, and twelve by the King, with whatsoever else made for their owne imagined security. The King seeing their strength, and in what manner they required these things, sweares againe solemnely to the confirmation of them, and causes the Prince to take the same Oath.

But the Lords left not here; the Kings brethren, the *Poistouins* and other strangers must be presently removed, and the kingdome cleared of them, and this they would have all the Peeres of the Land sworn to see done. Heere they found some opposition in the Prince, the Earle *Warrein* and *Henry* eldest sonne to *Richard* now King of *Romanes*, the last refusing to take his Oath without leave of his Father, they plainly told him, *That if his Father would not consent with the Barons in this case, he should not hold a Furrow of Land in England.* In the end, the Kings brethren and their followers are dispoyled of all their Fortunes, and exiled by proscription, under the Kings owne hand, directed to the Earles of *Hereford* and *Surrey*, with charge not to passe either their Money, Armes, Ornaments but in such sort as the Lords appointed; and after their departure, he enjoyneth the City of *Bristol*, and other Ports not to permit any strangers or kinsmen of his to arrive, unlesse they did so behave themselves, as both he and the Lords should like.

The *Poistouins* retiring to *Bologne* in *France* send to King *Louys*, to crave safe passage through his Country into *Poistou*, which (in regard the Queene of *France* had beene informed how they had defamed her sister of *England*) was, by her meanes denied at that time, and *Henry* sonne to the Earle of *Leicester* (whose estimation was great in *France*) followes them with all eagernesse thither, to incense the *French* against them. And as they whom Envy tumbles downe from high places, shall be sure ever to have all the thrusts possible to set them headlong into disgrace with the world; so now the death and sicknesse of divers great men and others happening in *England* soone after this fatall Parliament, is imputed to poysons supposed to have beene prepared by those Gentlemen. The Earle of *Glocester* in a sicknesse suddenly lost his haire, his teeth, his nailes; and his brother hardly escaped death, which made many to suspect their neerest servants, and the Cookes, *Walter Scoyny* the Earles Steward being one, is strictly examined, committed to prison, and after, without confession executed upon presumptions at *Winchester*. *Elias* a converted Jew, is said to have confessed, that in his house the poyson was confected, but it was when he was a Devill, not a Christian. Any thing in the prosecution of malice serves the turne. Every man that had received any wrong by those great men, now put up their complaints and are heard, to the aggravation of their insolence and injustice. *Guido de Rochfort* a *Poistouin*, to whom the King had given the Castle of *Rochester*, is banished, and all his goods confiscate. *William Bussey* Steward to *William de Valence*, is committed to the Towre of *London*, and most reproachfully used, as an especi-

all

Cron. Lichfield,  
Henry eldest  
sonne to the  
King of Ro-  
manes refused to  
take his oath  
Glam 49. H. 3.

Mat. Par.

all Minister of his Masters insolencies. *Richard Gray* whom the Lords had made Captaine of the Castle of *Dauer*, is set to intercept whatsoever the *Poistouines* conveyed that way out of *England*, and much treasure of theirs, and the clekt of *Winchester* is by him there taken; besides, great summes committed to the new Temple are found out, and seised into the Kings hands. And, as usually in such heates, much wrong is committed in these prosecutions of wrongs. But now (as an amuzatory, to make the ill-governed people thinke they are not forgotten) the new Chiefe Iusticiar *Hugh Bigod* brother to the Earle Marshall (chosen this last Parliament by publicke voyce) procures that foure Knights in every shire should inquire of the oppressions of the poore done by great men, and under their hands and seales certifie the same by a certaine day to the Baronage, that redresse might be made. Moreover order was taken, that from thenceforth no man should give any thing (besides provisions) for justice, or to hinder the same, and both the corrupter and corrupted to be grievously punished. Notwithstanding this pretended care of the publick, it is noted by the writers and records of that time, how the Lords inforced the services of the Kings tenants which dwelt neere them, and were *totidem tyranni*: how they furnished the especiall fortresses of the Kingdome with Guardians of their owne, sworne to the common State, and tooke the like assurance of all Sherifes, Baylifes, Coroners, and other publick Ministers, searching the behaviour of many strict Commissioners upon Oath. And to make their cause the more popular, it was rumored that the Kings necessity must be repaired out of the Estates of his people, and how he must not want whilest they had it; whereupon the King sends forth proclamation: How certaine malicious persons had falsely and seditiously reported, that he meant unlawfully to charge his subjects and subvert the Lawes and liberties of the kingdome, and by these subtle suggestions, altogether false, averted the hearts of his people from him; and therefore desires them, not to give credit to such perturbers; for that he was ready to defend all Rights and Customes due unto them; and that they might rest of this secured, he caused of his free will his Letters to be made Patents.

Regi. in Scacc.  
Will. Rishanger

But now *Monfort*, *Gloucester*, and *Spencer*, who had by the late institution of the twenty foure Conservators, drawne the intire managing of the kingdome into their hands, inforce the King to call the Parliament at *London*, where the authority of the twenty foure is delivered unto themselves, and order taken, that three at the least should attend in the Court, to dispose of the custody of Castles, and other busineses of the kingdome, of the Chancellour, chiefe Iusticiar, and Treasurer, and of all Officers great and small. And here they bind the King to loofe to them their Legall obedience whensoever he infringed his Charter.

In this state stood the kingdome, when intelligence was given to the Lords, that *Richard King of Romans* had a purpose to come over into *England*, which made them greatly to suspect (being ignorant of the occasion) lest he were sent for by the King to come with power to subvert them, by the example of *King John*. Whereupon they send to know the cause of his coming, and to require of him an oath before he should land, not to prejudice the now established orders of the kingdome: which he stearnly refuses to doe, saying: He had no Peere in *England* being the sonne and brother of a King, and was above their power; and if they would have reformed the kingdome, they ought first to have sent for him, and not so presumptuously attempted a businesse of so high a nature. The Lords upon returne of this answer send presently to guard the Ports, and come strongly to the Coast, prepared to encounter him

1252.

Anno  
Reg. 42

15 Parliament  
at London.  
Ordinat. inter  
Record. Civit.  
Lond.  
Licet omnibus  
de Regno nostro  
contra nos in-  
surgere, & ad  
gravamen no-  
strum opem &  
operam dare ac  
finobis in nullo  
teneantur.  
Char. Orig. sub  
Sigillo.  
The Lords re-  
quire an Oath  
of him.



him if occasion were offered. But finding his traine small, accompanied only with his Queene, two German Earles, and eight Knights, they, upon his promise to take their propounded Oath, receive him to Land; but would neither permit the King, (who came likewise thither to meete him) nor himselfe to enter into *Dover Castle*. At *Canterbury* they bring him into the Chapter-house, where the Earle of *Glocester* standing forth in the midst, calls out the Earle, not by the name of King, but *Richard Earle of Cornwall*, who in reverent manner comming forth, takes his Oath ministred in this manner.

The Oath of  
the King of  
Romans.

*Hearc all men, that I Richard Earle of Cornwall, doe here sweare upon the holy Evangelists, that I shall be faithfull and diligent to reforme with you the kingdome of England, hitherto by the counsell of wicked persons over-much disordered; be an effectfull Coadjutor, to expell the Rebels and Disturbers of the same, and this Oath will inviolably observe under paine of losing all the Land I have in England; So helpe me God.*

In this manner deale the Lords to binde this great Earle unto them, supposing his power to have beene more than it was, which at length they found to be nothing but an ayrie Title; for having consumed all that mighty substance abroad in two yeares (which with great frugality had beene many in gathering) he returnes in this manner home, poore, and forsaken by the *Germans*, without any other meanes to trust unto, but only what hee had in *England*.

Notwithstanding upon his returne the King takes heart, & seeks all moanes to vindicate his power, dispatching first messengers secretly to *Rome*, to be absolved from his inforced Oath, then sends into *Scotland* to the King, and the Queene his daughter for aydes to be ready upon his occasions. And to have the more assurance of the King of *France*, and be freed from forraine businesse, he makes an absolute resignation of whatsoever right he had to the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and the Earledomes of *Anjou*, *Poitou*, *Tourene*, and *Maine*, in regard whereof the King of *France* gives him three hundred thousand pounds (some say Crownes) of *Anjouine* money, and grants him to enjoy all *Guien* beyond the River *Garonne*, all the Countrey of *Xantonge* to the River of *Charente*, the Countries of *Limosin* and *Quercy* for him and his successors doing their homage and fealty to the Crown of *France*, as a Duke of *Aquitaine*, and a Peere of that kingdome.

The Lords likewise on the other side seeke to strengthen their association, and hold in each other to their Oathes, and observations of their Orders, which was hard to doe: for consisting of manifold dispositions, there was daily wavering, sometimes Pikes among themselves; in so much as the Earle of *Leicester* (the chiefe man that kept the fire of that faction in) told the Earle of *Glocester* finding him staggering, *That he cared not to live with such men, whom he found so mutable and uncertaine, for said he, my Lord of Glocester, as you are more eminent, so are you more bound to what you have undertaken for the good of the kingdome.* And as he incensed others, so had he those that animated him, as *Walter Bishop of Worcester*, and *Robert Bishop of Lincoln*, who injoynd him upon remission of his sinnes to prosecute the cause unto death, affirming, *How the peace of the Church of England could never be established but by the materiall sword.*

But now many being the temptations, many are drawne away from their side, especially after the sentence given against them by the King of *France*, made Arbitrator of the quarrell, who yet though hee condemned the provisions of *Oxford*, allowed the confirmation of King *Johns* Charter: by which distinction

The Lords  
combine a-  
gainst the  
King.

W. L. R. Joanger.

1259.

Anno

Reg. 44

He resignes  
Normandy, &c.

1261.

Anno

Reg. 45

distinction he left the matter as he found it: for those provisions, as the Lords pretended, were grounded upon that Charter. Howsoever, his sentence much advantaged the King of England, and made many to dispenſe with their Oath, and leave their party. Amongst whom was Henry sonne to the Earle of Cornwall, (on whom the Prince had bestowed the Honour of Tychkill) who comming to the Earle of Leicester told him, hee would not be against his Father, the King, nor his allyes: but said he, My Lord, I will never beare Armes against you; and therefore I crave leave to depart. The Earle chearefully replies: My Lord Henry, I am not sorry for your departure, but for your inconstancie, goe, returne with your Armes, I feare them not at all. About the same time Roger Clifford, Roger de Leuborne, Hamo l' Strange, and many other (won with gifts) depart from the Barons.

Shortly after Roger de Mortimer of the Kings part breakes into open act of hostility, makes spoyle of the Lands of the Earle of Leicester, who had now combined himselfe with Llewellyn Prince of Wales, and had sent Forces to invade the Lands of Mortimer in those parts. And here the sword is first drawne in this quarrell, about three yeares after the Parliament at Oxford. The Prince takes part with Mortimer, surpriseth the Castle of Brecknock: with other places of strength, which he delivers to his custody. The Earle of Leicester recovers the Towne and Castle of Gloucester, constrains the Citizens to pay a thousand pounds for their redemption, goes with an Army to Worcester, possesse him of the Castle, thence to Shrewsbury, and so comes about to the Isle of Eley, subdues the same, and growes very powerfull.

The King doubting his approach to London (being not yet ready for him) workes so as a mediation of peace is made, and agreed upon these conditions: That all the Castles of the King should be delivered to the keeping of the Barons; the provisions of Oxford, should be inviolably observed: All strangers by a certaine time should avoide the kingdome, except such as by a generall consent, should be held faithfull and profitable for the same. Here was a little pause, which seemes was but as a breathing for a greater rage. The Prince had fortified Windsor Castle, victualled, and therein placed strangers to defend it, and himselfe marches to the Towne of Bristow, where in a contention betweene the Citizens and his people, being put to the worſe, hee sends for the Bishop of Worcester (an especiall partaker of the Barons) to protect and conduct him back. When hee comes neere Windsor, hee gets into the Castle, which the Earle of Leicester comes to besiege, and being about Kingstone, the Prince meetes him to treat of peace, which the Earle refuses, and layes siege to the Castle, that was rendred unto him, the strangers turned out, and sent home into France.

The King to get time convokes another Parliament at London, wherein hee wonne many Lords to take his part, and with them (the Prince Richard Earle of Cornwall, Henry his sonne, William Valence, with the rest of his brethren lately returned.) he marches to Oxford, whither divers Lords of Scotland repaire to him, as John Comin, John Baliol; Lords of Galloway, Robert Bruce and others; with many Barons of the North, Clifford, Percy, Bassett, &c. From Oxford with all his Forces he goes to Northampton, where hee tooke prisoners Simon de Monfort the younger, with fourteen other principall men; thence to Nottingham, making spoyle of such possessions as appertained to the Barons in those parts.

The Earle of Leicester in the meane time drawes towards London, to recover and make good that part, as of chiefeſt importance, and seekes to secure Kent and the Ports; which hastes the King to stop his proceeding, and succour the Castle of Rochester besieged.

1262.  
Anno  
Reg. 46

1263.  
Anno  
Reg. 47

The begin-  
ning of the  
Warres.

1264.  
Anno  
Reg. 48  
16 Parliament

17 Parliament  
held at London

Scottish Lords  
come to ayde  
the King of  
England.

Suc.

The Barons  
mediate a  
peace.

Successes and authority now growes strong on this side, in so much as the Earles of *Leicester*, *Glocester* in behalfe of themselves, and their party write to the King, humbly protesting their loyalty, *And how they opposed onely against such as were enemies to him and the kingdome, and had belied them.* The King returns answer; *how themselves were the perturbors of him & his state: enemies to his person, and sought his and the kingdomes destruction, and therefore defies them.* The Prince and the Earle of *Cornwall* send likewise their letters of defiance unto them. The Barons notwithstanding doubtfull of their strength, or unwilling to put it to the hazard of a battaile, mediate a peace, and send the Bishops of *London* and *Worcester* with an offer of 30 thousand Markes to the King, for dammages done in these warres, so that the statutes of *Oxford* might be observed; which yeeldingnesse the other side supposing to argue their debility, made them the more neglective, and securer of their power, which commonly brings the weaker side (more watchfull of advantages) to have the better.

The battaile  
of *Lewis*.

The Earle, seeing no other meanes but to put it to a day (being a man skillfull in his worke) takes his time to be earlier ready than was expected, and supplies his want of hands with his wit, placing on the side of a Hill neere *Lewis*, where this Battaille was fought, certaine ensignes without men, in such sort as they might seeme a farre off, to be squadrons of succors to second those he brought to the encounter, whom he caused all to weare white crosses, both for their owne notice, and the signification of his cause, which hee would have to be for Iustice. Here the fortune of the day was his, the King, the Prince, the Earle of *Cornwall*, and his sonne *Henry*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Hereford*, and all the *Scottish* Lords are his prisoners. The Earle *Warrein*, *William de Valence*, *Guy de Lusignan* the Kings brethren, with *Hugh Bigod* Earle Marshall, save themselves by flight, five thousand are slaine in this defeat, which yet was not all the blood and destruction this businesse cost.

The King,  
Prince and  
others taken  
prisoners.

1265.  
*Anno*  
*Reg.* 49

*Monfort* taxed  
of wrong.

All this yeare and halfe of the other, is *Simon Monfort* in possession of his prisoners: the King he carries about with him to countenance his actions, till he had gotten in all the strongest Castles of the Kingdome. And now (as it usually falls out in confederations where all must be pleased or else the knot will dissolve) debate arises betweene the Earles of *Leicester* and *Glocester* about their dividend, according to their agreement. *Leicester* (as fortune makes men to forget themselves) is taxed to doe more for his owne particular, than the common good: to take to himselfe the benefit and disposition of the Kings Castles: to usurpe the redemption of prisoners at his pleasure, to prolong the businesse, and not to use the meanes of a Parliament to end it: his sonnes also presuming upon his greatnesse, grow insolent, which made *Glocester* to forsake that side, and betake him to the Prince, who lately escaping out of the Castle of *Hereford*, had gotten a power about him of such as attended the opportunity of turning Fortune, and to revenge the dishonour of one battaile by another.

The Earle of  
*Glocester* leaves  
him.

The revolt of this Earle brought many hands to the Prince, whereby many peeces of strength are regained, both in *England* and *Wales*. The Earle of *Leicester*, to stop the proceeding of this mighty growing Prince (being now with his Army about *Worcester*, imbattailes in a Plain neere *Eucham*, to encounter him; and noting the manner of the approach of his Army, said to those about him: *These men come bravely on, they learne it not of themselves, but of me. And seeing himselfe likely to be beset, and overlaid with numbers, advised his friends Hugh Spencer, Ralph Bassett, and others to shift for themselves;* which when he saw they refused to doe, then said he, *Let us*

com-



and his subjects to God, for our bodies sake, and so undertaking the maine weight of the Battaille, perished under it. And with him are slaine his sonne Henry, eleven other Barons with many thousands of common souldiers. At the instant of his death, there hapned a terrible thunder, lightning and earthquake, as it gave them as much horours as their hideous worke.

And so it is Monfort this great Earle of Leicester, too great for a subject, which had he not bene, he might have bene numbered amongst the worthiest of his time. Howsoever, the people which honoured and followed him in his life, would (upon the fame of his miracles) have worshipped him for a Saint after his death; but it would not be permitted by Kings.

And here this Battaille delivers the Captive King, (but yet with the losse of some of his owne as well as his subjects blood, by a wound casually received therein) and made him of his laylor Monfort, whom hee hated and long feared more than any man living, as himselfe confessed upon this accident: passing one day (shortly after the Parliament at Oxford) upon Thames, there hapned a suddaine clap of thunder, where with the King was much affrighted, and willed presently to be set on shore at the next landing, which was at Duresme house, where Monfort then lay, who seeing the King arriving, hasts downe to meete him, and perceiving him to be troubled at the storme, sayd: *That he needed not now to feare, the danger was past. No,* Monfort, *said the King, I feare thee more than I doe all the Thunder and tempest of the world.* And now the King with the victorious Prince, the redeemer of him, and the Kingdome, repayres to Winchester, where a Parliament is convoked, and all who adhered to Simon Monfort, are disinherited, and their estates conferred on others, at the Kings pleasure. The Londoners have their liberties taken from them. Simon and Guy de Monfort, sonnes of the Earle of Leicester, with the disinherited Barons and others who escaped the Battaille of Evesham, take and defend the Isle of Eley. The Castle of Killingworth defended by the servants of that Earle, although it were in the heart of the Kingdome, endured the siege of halfe a yeare against the King and his Army. In the end their Victualls fayling, they yeld upon condition to depart, their lives, members and goods saved. And it is worthy the note that we finde no execution of blood except in open battaille, in all these combusions, or any white man to dye on a Skaffold, either in this Kings reigne, or any other since William the first, which is now almost 300. yeares. Onely in Anno 26. of this King William Marisc, the sonne of Geffery Marisc a Noble man of Ireland, being condemned for Pyracie and treason, was hanged, beheaded, and quartered; and is the first example of that kind of punishment we finde in our Histories.

After the Parliament at Westminster the King goes with an Army against the disinherited Barons, and their partakers, which were many resolute and desperate persons strongly fastned together. And being at Northampton, Simon and Guy de Monfort, by mediation of Friends, and promises of Favour, came in and submitted themselves to the King, who, at the earnest suite of the Earle of Cornwall their Vncle, and the Lord Phillip Basset, had restored them to their estates, but for Gloucester, and others who (doubting their spirits) wrought to hold them downe, where their Fortune had layd them. In so much as they were faine in the end to flye the Kingdome, and worke their Fortunes other where, which they did, the yongest in Italy, the elder in France: Where there were propagators of two great Families. Their mother was banished shortly after the battaille of Evesham. A Lady of eminent note, the daughter and sister of a King, nocent onely by her Fortune, who from the Coronet of miserable glory, tooke her to the waile of quiet piety, and dyed a Nun at Montarges in France.

The Earle  
Dunfort  
died  
1266

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Motions of  
peace made to  
the dis-inheri-  
ted Lords.

1267.

Anno

Reg. 51.

The Earle of  
Glocester  
revolts.

19 Parlia-  
ment.

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Three years after this, the dis-inherited Barons held out in those fastnesses of the Kingdome where they could best defend themselves, made many excursions and spoyle to the great charge and vexation of the King, at length motions, and conditions of tender are proposed, wherein the Councill are divided. Mortimer now an eminent man in grace, with others stated in the possessions of the dis-inherited, are averse to any restoration, alledging it a great act of injustice, for them to be forced to forgive what the King had for their gaines and fidelity bestowed on them, and the other justly forfeited, and therefore would hold what they had. Glocester with the twelve ordained to deale for the peace of the state, and other his Friends which were many, stand mainely for restoration. This caused new pikes of displeasure, in so much as Glocester, who conceiving his turning, not so to serve his turne as hee expected, taking his time, againe changed foote: retires from the Court, refuses to come to the Kings Feast on S. Edwards day: Sends messengers to waite the King, To remove strangers from his Council, and observe the provisions of Oxford according to his last promise made at Evesham; otherwise that he should not merwale, if himselfe did what he thought fit. Thus had victory no peace, the distemperature of the time was such, as no sword could cure it; recourse is had to Parliament (the best way if any would serve, for remedy) and at Bury is the state convoked, where likewise all who held by Knights service are summoned to assemble, with sufficient horse & armour for the vanquishing of those dis-inherited persons, which, contrary to the peace of the Kingdome held the Isle of Ely. John de Warrene Earle of Surrey, and William de Valence, are sent to perswade the Earle of Glocester (who had now levied an Army upon the Borders of Wales) to come, in faire manner to this Parliament, which he refuses to doe, but yet thus much the Earles had of him under his hand and seale: Never to beare armes against the King, or his sonne Edward, but to defend himselfe, and pursue Roger Mortimer, and other his enemies, for which he pretended to have taken Armes. The first demand in the Parliament was made by the King and the Legat: for the grant of a Tenth of the Clergy for three years to come, and for the yeares past, so much as they gave the Barons for defending the Coasts against the landing of strangers. Whereto they answer, that the War was begonne by unjust desires, which yet continues, and necessary it were to let passe so evil demands, and so treat of the peace of the Kingdome, to convert the Parliament to the benefit thereof, and not to extort money, considering the land had beene so much destroyed by this Warre, as it could hardly be ever recovered. 2. Then was it required, that the Clergy might be taxed by lay men, according to the just value of what appertained unto them. They answer, it was no reason, but against all Justice, that Lay-men should entermiddle in collecting Tenth, which they would never consent unto, but would have the ancient taxation to stand. 3. Then was it required, they should give the Tenth of their Baronies and lay Fee, according to the utmost value. They answer: themselves were impoverished by attending the King in his expeditions, and their lands lay untild by reason of the Wars. 4. Then it was required, that the Clergy should in lieu of a Tenth give amongst them 30. thousand Markes to discharge the Kings debts contracted for Sicilia, Calabria, and Apulia. They answer: they would give nothing in regard all those taxations, and extortions formerly made by the King were never converted to his owne, or the benefit of the Kingdome. 5. All this being denyed, demand is made, That all Clergy men that held Baronies, or other Lay Fee should personally serve in the Kings Warres. They answer, they were not to fight with the materiall, but the spirituall sword, &c. that their Baronies were given of meere almes, &c. 6. Then was it required the whole clergy should discharge

discharge the 9000. pounds, which the Bishops of Rochester, Bathe, & the Abbots of Westminster stood bound to the Popes Merchants for the King service at their being at the Court of Rome. They answer: they never consented to any such lone, and therefore were not bound to discharge it. 7. Then the Legat, from the part of the Pope required, that without delay predication should bee made throughout the Kingdome to incite men to take the Crosse for the Holy Warre: whereunto answer was made, that the greatest part of the people of the Land were already consumed by the sword, and that if they should undertake this action, few or none would be left to defend the Kingdome, and that the Legat hereby shewed a desire to extirpate the natives thereof, and introduce strangers. 8. Lastly, it was urged, that the Prelates were bound to yeeld to al the Kings demands by their oath at Coventrie; where they swore to ayde him by all meanes possible they could. They answer: that when they tooke that oath, they understood no other ayde, than spirituall and wholesome Counsell. So nothing was obtained but denials in this Parliament.

The Legat likewise employes sollicitors to perswade the dis-herited L. L. which held the Isle of Eley, to return to the faith, and unity of the Church, the peace of the King, according to the form provided at Coventry, for redeeming their inheritances from such as held them by gift from the King for seven yeares profits, and to leave off their robberies. The dis-herited returne answer to the Legat. First, that they held the faith, they received from their Catholicke Fathers, and their obedience to the Roman Church, as the head of all Christianity; but not to the avarice and wilfull exaction of those who ought to governe the same. And how their Predecessors (whose heires they were, having conquered this Land by the sword) they held themselves unjustly dis-herited, that it was against the Popes mandate, they should be so dealt withall.

That they had formerly taken their Oathes to defend the Kingdome and Holy Church, all the Prelates thundring the sentence of excommunication against such as withstood the same, and according to that Oath they were prepared to spend their lives. And seeing they warred for the Benefit of the Kingdome, and Holy Church, they were to sustaine their lives by the goods of their enemies, who detained their Lands, which the Legat ought to cause to be restored unto them, that they might not be driven to make depredation in that manner, which yet was not so great as was reported: for that many of the Kings and Princes followers made rodes, and committed great robberies, which to make them odious, were imputed, and given out to be done by them, wherefore they wish the Legat to give no credit to such reports: for if they should finde any such amongst them, they would themselves doe Justice upon them without delay.

Besides, they declare to the Legat, that he had irreverently ejected out of the Kingdome the Bishops of Winchester, London and Chester, men circumspect and of deepe judgement, whereby the Councell of the Kingdome was in great part weakened to the danger thereof, and therefore willed him to looke to the reformation of the same: and that they might be restored to their Lands without redemption. That the provisions of Oxford might be observed. That they might have Ostages delivered them into the Island to hold the same peaceably for five yeares to come, untill they might perceive how the King would performe his promises.

Thus they treat, not like men whom their Fortunes had layd on the ground, but as they had beene still standing: So much wrought cyther the opinion of their cause, or the hope of their party. But this stubbornnesse so exasperates the King, as the next yeare following, he prepares a mighty Army, besets the Isle so that he shuts them up, and Prince Edward, with bridges made on Boates enters the same in divers places, and constraines them to



The Earle of  
Glocester re-  
conciled.

yeeld. In the meane time the Earle of *Glocester*, with his Army collected on the borders of *Wales* to ayde them, marched to *London*, where by the Citizens he was received: but the Legat who kept his residence in the Tower, so prevailed with him, as he againe renders himselfe to the King, to whom hee was afterward reconciled, by the mediation of the King of *Romans*, and the Lord *Phillip Basset*, upon forfeiture of twelve thousand Markes, if ever after he should raise any commotion.

This effected, the King goes with an Army into *Wales*, against *Lewellin*, for ayding *simon Monfort* and the Earle of *Glocester*, in their late attempts against him; but his wrath being by the gift of thirty two thousand pounds sterling, appeased, peace is concluded betwixt them, and foure Cantreds, which had by right of Warre, beene taken from him, restored.

*And here was an end of the first Barons Warres of England, wherein wee see what effects it wrought, how no side got but misery and vexation, whilst the one struggle to doe more than it should, and the other to doe lesse than it ought, they both had the worst, according to the usuall events of such imbroylements.*

1269.

Anno  
Reg. 53

Prince Ed-  
ward, his Bro-  
ther and o-  
thers, under-  
take the Holy  
Warre.

The next yeare after this appeasement, the Legat *Ottobon* signes with the Croissado both the Kings sonnes, *Edward* and *Edmond*, the Earle of *Glocester*, and divers Noblemen induced to undertake the Holy Warre by the solicitation of him; and the King of *France*, who notwithstanding his former calamities indured in that action, would againe adventure therein. So much either the desire of revenge, with the recovery of his fame and honour, or the hope of enjoying another World provoked him to forgoe this, & hast to his finall destruction. And for that Prince *Edward* wanted meanes for his present Furnishment, this King of *France* lent him 30. thousand Markes, for which he mortgaged unto him *Gascoigny*. An act, which subtler times would interpret to be rather of policy than piety, in this King, to ingage in such manner, and upon so especiall a caution, a young stirring Prince, likely in his absence to imbroyle his Estate at home, and to draw him along in the same adventure with himselfe, without any desire otherwise, eyther of his company or ayde, considering the inconveniences that stung these severall Nations heretofore by their incompetibility, in the same action; but here it were sinne to thinke they disguised their ends, or had other coverings for their designs than those through which they were scene; their spirits seeme to have beene warmed with a Nobler flame.

And now whilst this preparation is in hand, King *Henry* labours to establish the Peace of the Kingdome, and reforme those excesses the Warre had bred, causing by proclamation *stealsh of Cattle to be made a crime capitall*, and the first that suffered for the same was one of *Dunstable*, who had stolne twelve Oxen from the inhabitants of *Colne*, and being pursued to *Redburne*, was by a Bayliffe of *Saint Albans* (according to the Kings Proclamation) condemned and beheaded. And the same yeare the King assembles his last Parliament at *Marleborough*, where the Statutes of that Title were enacted.

1 Parlia-  
ment at  
Marleborough.

1271.

Anno  
Reg. 55

Neere two yeares it seemes to have beene after the undertaking the Crosse before Prince *Edward* set fourth, a time long enough (if those resolutions would have beene shaken) to have bred an alteration of desire, but so strong was the current of this humour as no worldly respects could give any the least stoppage thereunto. Otherwise a Prince so well acquainted with action, so well understanding the World, so forward in yeares (being then thirty two) so neere the possession of a Kingdome, would not have left it, and an aged Father broken with dayes & travaile, to have betaken himselfe (with his deare and tender consort *Eliomer*, & as it seems then young with child) to a

voyage

voyage that could promise nothing but danger, toyle, misery and affliction. So powerfull are the operations of the minde, as they make men neglect the ease of their bodies, especially in times not dissolved with those softnings of Luxury and Idlenesse which unmanners them. And wee cannot but admire the undauntable constancy of this Prince whom all the sad examples of others calamities (crossing even the beginning of action) could not deterre from proceeding therein. For, first the King of France who with two of his sonnes, the King of Navarre and a mighty Army, being set out before, and by the way besieging the City of Tunis in Affrica (possessed then by the Sarazins that infested Christendome) perished miserably by the Pestilence that raged in his Army, and with him one of his sonnes and many of his Nobles, whereby all their enterprize was dashed and utterly overthrowne. Besides, Charles King of Sicile, brother to this King of France, who likewise came to ayde him, returning home, lost the greatest part of his Navy by tempest. Moreover, many of this Princes owne people were desirous to leave him and returne home. Whereupon he is sayd To have stricken his breast, and sworne: that if all his followers forsooke him, he would yet enter Ptolemais or Acon, though but onely with his Horse-keeper Fowin.

The resolution of Prince Edward.

By which speech they were againe incensed to proceede; but yet his Cousen Henry Sonne to the King of Romans, obtaines leave of him to depart, and was set on shore in Italy: where, notwithstanding he found what he sought to avoyde, Death; and was slaine in the Church at Viterbo (being at Divine Service) by his owne Cousen German Guy de Monfort (sonne to Simon late Earle of Leicester) in revenge of his Fathers Death. The newes of which unnaturall murder seemes to hasten the end of Richard King of the Romans, who dyed shortly after, and the next yeare following, finished likewise Henry the third of England his Aet, in the 65. of his age having Reigned 56. yeares, & 30. dayes, A time that hath held us long, and taken up more than a tenth part from the Norman Invasion to this present; and yeilded notes of great variety with many examples of a crasse and diseased State, bred both by the inequality of this Princes manners, and the impatience of a stubborne Nobility.

1272.  
Anno  
Reg. 57

He had by his Wife Elianer six sonnes, whereof onely two survived him; Edward and Edmond; and two daughters, who lived to be married, Margaret the eldest to Alexander King of Scots: Beatrice the other to John the first, intituled Duke of Brittain.

His issue.

The end of the Life and Reigne of Henry the third.

## The Life and Reigne of Edward the first.



Upon the Death of Henry, the State assembles at the New Temple, and Proclaimes his sonne Edward King, though they knew not whether He were living; swears Fealty unto him: causes a new Seale to be made; and appoints fit Ministers for the custody of his Treasure, and his Peace, whilst himselfe remains in Palestine, where by an Assassin (making shew of delivering letters) hee receives three dangerous wounds with a poysoned knife, whereof hee was hardly recovered. After three yeares travaile, from the time of his setting forth, and many conflicts without any great effect, disappointed of his aydes, and his ends, hee leaves Acon (which hee went to relieve) well fortified and manned: returns homeward, lands in sicile, is royally feasted by Charles the King thereof: passes through Italy, with all the honour could bee shewed him, both by the Pope and the Princes there.

1274.  
Anno  
Reg. 1.

Thence descends into *Burgogne*; where at the foote of the *Alpes*, he is met by the Nobility of *England*, and there challenged by the Earle of *Chalboun* (a fierce man at Armes) to a Turneament: Wherein againe he hazards his person to shew his valour, which may seeme to be more than became his Estate, and Dignity. From thence he comes downe into *France*, where he is sumptuously entertained, and feasted by *Phillip* the third (surnamed the *Hardy*) to whom hee doth homage for all the Territories hee held of that Crowne.

His coronation.

1274.  
Anno  
Reg. 3.

Thence he departs into *Aquitaine*, where hee spent much time in settling his affaires. And after six yeares, from his first setting out, hee returns into *England*: Receives the Crowne (without which hee had beene a King almost three yeares) at the hands of *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in September 1275. And with him is *Eliouer* his Queene likewise Crowned at *Westminster*. *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and *Iohn* Duke of *Brittaine*, (who both had married his Sisters) being present at the solemnity.

The spirit and abilities of this Prince shewed in the beginning of his Actions under his Father, after the great defeite he gave the Barons at *Evesham*: The prosecution of the dis-herited Mutiners of the Kingdome: The exposition of his Person to all hazards, and travaile: His single combat with *Adam Gurdun* the Out-law neare *Farnham*: His great adventure and attempts in the East: and finally his long experience in the affaires of the World, with his maturity of yeares (being about thirty five before hee came to the Crowne) might well presage what an able master hee would prove in the mannage thereof. And how by these advantages of Opinion and Reputation, he was likely (as hee did) to make a higher improvement of the Royalty, having wonne, or worne out, the greatest of those who heretofore opposed the same. In so much as he seemes the first Conquerour, after the Conqueror that got the Domination of this State in that eminent manner, as by his government appears.

And even at his first Parliament, held shortly after his Coronation at *Westminster*, he made tryall of their patience, and had the fifteenth of all their goods (*Clergy* and *Lay*) granted unto him, without any noyse as we heare of. The *Clergy* having yeelded before a Tenth for two yeares to be paid him, and his brother *Edmond* towards the charge of the *Holy Warre*. But, yet all this could not divert the Designes he had to abate the power Ecclesiasticall, which by experience of former times, hee found to be a part growne too strong for the Sovereignty, whensoever they combined with the *Lay Nobility*: And therefore now at first (whilst he was in the exaltation both of opinion and estimation with the World) hee began to set upon their Priviledges. And in Anno Reg. 6. (to extend, saith the Monkish History, the Royall Authority) he deprived many famous Monasteries throughout *England* of their liberties, and tooke from the Abbot and Covent of *Westminster* the returne of Writs granted them by the Charter of his Father King *Henry* the third. The next yeare after he got to be enacted the Statute of *Mortmaine*, to hinder the encrease of their temporall possessions (which made them so powerfull) as being detrimentall to the Kingdome, and the Military service of the same. In the second Statute of *Westminster*, he defalked the Iurisdiction of Ecclesiasticall Iudges. He left not here, but afterward growing more upon them, he required the moety of all their goods, as well Temporall as Spirituall, for one yeare: which (though it put them into extreame perplexity and griefe) they yet were faine to yeeld to his demand. And at the first propounding thereof, one Sir *Iohn Havering* Knight stands up amongst them,

Quintam Decimam annuam bonorum temporalium tam Clericorum quam Laicorum inaudito more ad unguem taxatam Rex iusserat confiscari. Mo. II. ff. His proceeding against the Clergy.



as they were assembled in the Refectory of the Monkes at Westminster (and sayd) Reverend Fathers, if any here will contradict the Kings demand in this businesse, let him stand out in the midst of the Assembly, that his person may be knowne, and scene, as one guilty of the Kings Peace. At which speech they all saue mute. So much were the times altered since the late Reigne of the Father, wherein such a businesse could not have so passed. But now this Active King being come home, and having composed his affaires abroad, must needs be working, both to satisfie his owne desire in amplifying his power, and entertayning his people in those times incompatible of rest; and therefore some action must be taken in hand.

Wales, that lay nearest the danger of a superiour Prince, and had ever struggled for liberty, and the rule of a Native Government, had alwayes beene the Receptacle, and ayde of the Rebellions of England: had ever Combined with Scotland to disturbe the peace, and government thereof: Having never her borders without blood and mischief, was an apt Subject to be wrought upon in this time. And occasions are easily taken, where there is a purpose to quarrell, especially with an Inferiour. *Leoline*, now Prince of that Province, who had so long held in the fire of the late Civill Warres of England (and dearly payde for it) having refused upon summons to come to the Kings Coronation, and after to his first Parliament, alledged, he well remembered how his Father *Griffin* burst his necke out of the Tower of London, for which he brooked not that place, and therefore returned answer, That in any other, upon Hostages given him, or Commissioners sent to take his Fealty, he would (as it should please the King) be ready to render it. This gave occasion that King Edward the next yeare after, goes with a powerfull Army: Enters his Country with Fire and Sword in so fierce manner, as *Leoline* (unable to resist) sues for Peace, and obtaines it, but upon those conditions, as made his Principality little different from the tenour of a Subject. And besides he was fined in fifty thousand pound sterling, and to pay 1000. pounds *Per Annum* for what he held, which was but for his owne life. But yet the King to gratifie him in some thing that might be a ryg to this peace, restored unto him *Elionor* (daughter to *Simon: Monsart* late Earle of Leicester) who, with her brother *Elmericke* had beene lately taken Prisoners by certaine Ships of *Bristol*, as shee was passing out of France into Wales, to be made the miserable Wife of this unfortunate Prince. Whole restraint and affliction might perhaps be a motive, the rather to incline him to this lownesse of submission, and accord: Which, as it was made by Force (an untire contractor of Covenants) so was it by disdain, as ill an observer, soone broken. And eyther the ill administration of Justice upon the Marches (the perpetuall Fire-matches of bordering Princes) or the ever-working passion of desire of Liberty in the Welsh, threw open againe (within three yeares) this ill intensed closure. And out is *Leoline* in Armes; surprizes the Castles of *Flint* and *Rutland*, with the person of the Lord *Clifford* sent Iusticiar into those parts; and commits all Acts of Hostility. With him joynes his brother *David*, on whom King Edward (to make him his, finding him of a more stirring spirit) had bestowed, after the last accord, the honour of Knight-hood: marched him to the daughter of the Earle of *Derby*, a rich Widdow: and given him in stead of his other lands, the Castle of *Denbigh* with 1000. pounds *per Annum*: All which graces could not yet hold him backe from those powerfull inclinations of Nature: The aiding his country, the partaking with his Brother, and the attempting of Liberty.

King Edward advertised of this Revolt (being at the *Vices* in *Wiltshire*) prepares

See, West.

An occasion taken for subduing of Wales.

1276.  
Anno  
Reg. 4.

1278.  
Anno  
Reg. 6.

prepares an Army to repress it. But before his setting forth, he privately goes to visite his Mother Queene *Elionor* living in the Nunnery at *Ambury*; with whom whilst he conferred, there was brought into the Chamber one who faigned himselfe (being blind) to have received his sight at the Tombe of *Henry* the third. As soone as the King saw the man, he formerly knew him to be a most notorious lying Villaine. And wished his Mother in no case to beleve him. His Mother, who much rejoyced to heare of this Miracle (for the glory of her husband) grew suddainly into rage, and killed the King to avoide her Chamber. The King obeyes, and going forth meets with a Clergyman, to whom he tells the story of this Impostor, and merrily sayd, *He knew the Justice of his Father to bee such, that hee would rather pull out the eyes (being whole) of such a wicked wretch, than restore them to their sight.*

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* (to whom the *Welsh* had before sent a Roll of their grievances, and the causes that drave them to revolt) of himselfe goes, and labours to bring in *Leoline*, and his brother to a resubmission and stay the ruine which he foresaw would light upon the Nation. But nothing could he effect, certaine petty defects *Leoline* had given to the *English*: the instigation of his people: the conceit of a Prophecie of *Merlin* (that *Ginne of Error*) how he should shortly be crowned with the Diademe of Brute; so overweighed this poore Prince, as he had no care for Peace, and shortly after no head; the same being cut off (after he was slaine in battaile by a common Souldier) and sent to King *Edward*. Who (as if his death were not sufficient without his reproach) caused the same to be crowned with Ivie, and set upon the Tower of *London*. This was the end of *Leoline* the last of the *Welsh* Princes, betrayed (as they wrire) by the men of *Buelsh*.

Shortly after to finish this worke of blood, is *David* his brother taken in *Wales*, and judged in *England* to an ignominious death. First drawne at a horse tayle about the City of *Shrewsbury*, then beheaded, the Trunke of his Body devided, his Heart, and Bowels burnt, his head sent to accompany that of his Brothers on the Tower of *London*, his foure quarters to foure Citties, *Bristol*, *Northampton*, *Torke*, and *Winchester*: a manifold execution, and the first shewed in that kinde to this kingdome, in the person of the sonne of a Prince, or any other Nobleman, that we reade of in our History.

But this example made of one, of another, grew after to be usual to this Nation. And even this King (under whom it began) had the blood of his owne, and his brothers race, miserably shed on many a scaffold. And just at the sealing of this Conquest, *Alphonfus* his eldest sonne of the age of twelve yeares (a Prince of great hope) is taken away by death. And *Edward*, lately borne at *Carnarvan* (an infant, uncertaine how to proove) his Heire of the Kingdome; and the first of the *English* intituled (*Prince of Wales*) whose unnaturall destruction, we shall likewise heare of in his time.

But thus came *Wales* (all that small portion left unto the *Brittaines* the ancient possessours of this Isle) to be united to the Crowne of *England*, Anno Reg. 11. And strange it is how it could so long subsist of it selfe, as it did; having little or no ayde of others; little or no shipping (the hereditary defect of their Auncestors) no Alliance, no confederation, no intelligence with any forraigne Princes of power out of this Isle: and being by so potent a Kingdome as this, so often invaded, so often reduced to extremitie, so eagerly pursued, almost by every King, and sayd to have beene (by many of them) subdued, when it was not; must needs shew the worthinesse of the Nation, and their noble courage to preserve their liberty. And how it was now

1283.

Anno

Reg. 11.

The death of  
*Leoline* the  
last of the  
*Welsh* Princes.

The Execution  
of *David*  
his brother at  
*Shrewsbury*,  
the first in that  
kinde.

The death of  
the Prince *Al-*  
*phonfus*.

*Wales* united  
to *England*.

at last gotten, and upon what ground we see; But the effect prooves better than the cause, and hath made it good. For in such Acquisitions as these, the *Sword* is not to give an Account to *Iustice*; the publicke benefit makes amends. Those miserable mischiefs that afflicted both Nations come heereby extinguished. The Division and Plurality of States in this Isle, having ever made it the Stage of blood, and confusion: as if Nature that had ordained it but one-peece, would have it to be governed but by one Prince, and one Law, as the most absolute glory and strength thereof, which otherwise it could never enjoy. And now this prudent King (no lesse provident to preserve than subdue this Province) established the government thereof according to the Lawes of *England*, as may be scene by the Statute of *Rutland*, *Anno Reg. 12.*

This worke effected and settled, King *Edward* passes over into *France* (upon notice of the Death of *Phillip le Hardy*) to renew and confirme such conditions, as his State required in those parts with the new King *Phillip* the fourth (intituled *le Bel*) to whom he doth homage for *Aquitaine*, having before quitted his claime to *Normandy* for ever. And afterwards accommodates the differences betweene the Kings of *Sicile* and *Arragon* in *spaine* (to both of whom he was allied) and redeemes *Charles* entituled Prince of *Achasa* (the sonne of *Charles* King of *Sicile*) Prisoner in *Arragon*, paying for his ransom thirty thousand pounds.

After three yeares and a halfe being abroad, hee returnes into *England*, which must now supply his Coffers emptyed in this Voyage. And occasion is given (by the generall complaints made unto him of the ill administration of Iustice in his absence) to inflict penalties upon the chiefe Ministers thereof; whose manifest corruptions the hatred of the people to men of that Profession (apt to abuse their Science, and Authority) the Necessity of reforming so grievous a mischiefe in the Kingdome, gave easie way thereunto by the Parliament then assembled; wherein, upon due examinations and proofe of their extortions, they are fined to pay to the King these summes following.

First *Sir Ralph Hengham* chiefe Iustice of the higher Bench, seven thousand Markes: *Sir John Loveton* Iustice of the lower Bench, threethousand Markes. *Sir William Bromton* Iustice 6000. Markes. *Sir Salomon Rochester* foure thousand Markes. *Sir Richard Boyland* 4000. Markes. *Sir Thomas Sodington* two thousand Markes. *Sir Walter Hopson* two thousand Markes: These foure last were Iustices Itinerants. *Sir William Saham* three thousand Markes. *Robert Lithbury* Master of the Rolles one thousand Markes. *Roger Leicester*, one thousand Markes. *Henry Bray* Eschequer, and Iudge for the Iewes, one thousand Markes. But *Sir Adam Stratton* Chiefe Baron of the Exchequer was fined in 34000. Markes. And *Thomas Wayland* (found the greatest delinquent, and of the greatest substance) hath all his goods and whole estate Confiscated to the King. Which were it but equall to that of *Sir Adam Stratton*, these fines bring to the Kings Coffers above one hundred thousand Markes; which, at the rate (as money goes now) amounts to above three hundred thousand Markes. A mighty treasure to be gotten out of the hands of so few men. Which, how they could amasse in those dayes, when Litigation and Law had not spread it selfe into those infinite wreathings of contention (as since it hath) may seeme strange even to our greater getting times. But peradventure now the number of Lawyers, being growne bigger than the Law (as all trades of profit come over-pestred with multitude of Traders) is the cause (that like a huge River dispersed into many little Rilles)

1286.  
*Anno*  
*Reg. 13*

1289.  
*Anno*  
*Reg. 16*

*Sir Ralph Hengham* a Chiefe Commissioner for the government of the Kingdome in the Kings absence. Officers fined for bribery & extortion.



The Banishment of the Iewes.

His many supplies and meanes for money.

Rilles) their substances are of a smaller proportion, than those of former times; and Offices, now of Iudicature peradventure more piously executed.

Of no lesse grievance, the King the next yeare after eased his people, by the Banishment of the Iewes; for which the Kingdome willingly granted him a Fifteenth. Having before (in *Anno Reg. 9.*) offered a fifth part of their goods to have them expelled: but then the Iewes gave more, and so stayed till this time, which brought him a greater benefit by confiscating all their immoveables with their Talleis, and obligations which amounted to infinite Value. But now hath he made his last commodity of this miserable people, which having beene never under other cover than the Will of the Prince, had continually served the turne in all the necessary occasions of his predecessors, but especially of his Father and himselfe. And in these reformatiōs that are easfull, and pleasing to the State in generall, the Iustice of the Prince is more noted, than any other motive, which may be for his profit. And howsoever some particular men suffer (as some must ever suffer) yet they are the fairest, and safest wayes of getting: in regard the hatred of the abuses, not onely discharges the Prince of all imputation of rigour, but renders him more beloved and respected of his people. And this King, having much to doe for mony (comming to an empty Crowne) was driven to all shifts possible to get it, and great supplies wee finde, he had already drawne from his subjects. As in the first yeare of his Reigne, Pope Gregory procured him a Tenth of the Clergy for two yeares; besides a Fifteenth of them and the Temporality. In the third likewise another Fifteenth of both. In the fifth, a Twentieth of their goods towards the Welsh Warres. In the seaventh the old Mony was called in, and new coyned in regard it had beene much defaced by the Iewes, for which 297. were at one time executed at London, and this brought him in a great benefit. In *Anno Reg. 8.* seeking to examine mens Titles to their Lands, by a Writ of *Quo Warranto* (which opposed by the Earle Warreine, who drew out his Sword upon the Writ, saying, *How by the same he held his Land, and thereby would make good his Tenure*) the King desists and obtaines a fifteenth of the Clergy. In the eleaventh, hee had a thirtieth of the Temporality, and a twentieth of the Clergy for the Welsh Warres. In the thirteenth, Escuage, forty shillings for every Knights Fee for the same purpose. In the fourteenth, hee had a thousand Markes of certaine Merchants fined for false Weights. In the seaventeenth, those fines fore-declared of the Iudges. In the eighteenth, this confiscation of Iewes, and a fifteenth of the English. After this *Anno Reg. 19.* pretending a Voyage to the Holy Land, the Clergy grants him an eleaventh part of all Moveables, and shortly after the Pope procures him a tenth for six yeares to be collected in *England, Scotland and Ireland*, and layd up in Monasteries untill he were entred into *Mare Maggior*. But he made the Collectors pay him the mony gathered for three yeares without going so farre, having occasion to use it at home, about the purchase of a new Kingdome.

For the Crowne of Scotland (upon the death of King Alexander, and of the daughter of his daughter Margaret, who was to inherit) was now in controversie. Six Competitors pretend title thereunto, all descending from David Earle of Huntingdon, younger brother to William King of Scots, and great Uncle to this late King Alexander. This title King Edward takes upon him to decide, pretending a right of Superiority from his Ancestors over that Kingdome. The Scots which swayed the *Interregnum*, are constrained for

1290.  
*Anno*  
*Reg. 17*

for avoyding further inconveniences, to make him Arbitrer thereof, and the six Competitors bound to stand to his Award. Two are especially found; betweene whom the Right lay: *John Baliol* Lord of *Galloway*, and *Robert Bruce*: the one descending from an elder Daughter, the other from a sonne of a younger Daughter of *Alan*, who had married the eldest Daughter of this *David*, brother to King *William*. The Controversie held long. Twelve of eyther Kingdome learned in the Lawes, are elected to debate the same at *Barwicke*: All the best *Civilians* in the Univerſities of *France*, are ſollicited to give their opinions, the differences, and perplexedneſſe whereof made the deciſion more difficult: According to the Nature of Litigation, that ever begets rather Doubts than Reſolutions, and never knowes well nor certainly how to make an end.

King *Edward*, the better to ſway this buſineſſe by his preſence, takes his Journey Northward, and whiſt he ſought to compaſſe greater Felicity, he loſt the better part of what he had in this World, his deare conſort *Elionor* (who had ever attended him in all his Fortunes, the Paragon of Queenes, and the honour of Womanhood: Who is ſayd to have ſucked the poyſon out of the wound given him by the *Assassin* in the Eaſt, when no other meanes could preſerve his life) dyes by the way in *Lincolnſhire*. With whoſe Corpes, in extreame griefe he returnes backe to *Westmiſter*, cauſing (at all eſpeciall places where it reſted by the Way) goodly engraven Croſſes, with her Statue to be erected. As at *Stamford*, *Walſham*, *West-cheape*, *Charing* and others, gratefull Monuments of his affection, and her renowned Faithfulneſſe.

Her Funeralls performed, backe he returnes to his Scottiſh buſineſſe: And now ſix yeares it was ſince the Death of King *Alexander*, and much time having beene ſpent, and nothing concluded in this controverſie: King *Edward* that would bee ſure (whoſoever prevailed) to have the hand that ſhould make him, deales privately with *Bruce* (who had the weaker Title but the more friends) and promiſes him, if he would yeeld Fealty and Homage to the Crowne of *England*, he would inveſt him in that of *Scotland*. *Bruce* answers, *He was not ſo deſirous to rule, as thereby to infringe the Liberties of his Country*. Then with the like offer hee ſets upon *Baliol*, who having better right but leſſe love of the people, and more greedy of a Kingdome, than honour, yeelds thereunto: is Crowned King at *Scone*: hath Fealty done him all of the Chiefe Nobility, except *Bruce*: Comes to *New Caſtle upon Tyne* where King *Edward* then lay; and there (with many of his Nobles) ſweares Fealty, and did Homage unto him; as his Sovereigne Lord. Which Act, as hee thought done to ſecure him, overthrew him. For being little beloved before, hereby hee became leſſe: ſuch as ſtood for *Bruce*, and others of the Nobility (more tender of the preſervation of their Countries liberty) grew into Stomacke againſt him; as having not onely diſcontented them in this Act, but ſhortly after in his Juſtice, in the caſe of the Earle of *Fife*, one of the ſix Governours in the time of *Anarchy*, who had beene ſlaine by the Family of *Alberneſh*. And the brother of this Earle now proſecuted in Law, before the King *Baliol* in his high Court of Parliament (where having no right done him, King *Baliol* giving Judgement on the ſide of the *Alberneſhs*) the wronged Gentleman appeales to the Court of the King of *England*. King *Baliol* is thither ſummoned: appeares, ſits with King *Edward* in his Parliament till his cauſe was to bee tryed, and then is hee cited by an Officer to ariſe and ſtand at the place appoin-

The occaſion  
of his Warres  
with *Scotland*.

King *Edward*  
cholen by the  
Scots to arbitrate  
the  
right of the  
pretenders to  
that Crowne.

1291.

Anno

Reg. 18

Queene *Elionor*  
dyes,  
Her Prayle,

Scottiſh Hi-  
ſtory.

*Baliol* made  
King of *Scot-*  
*land*.

1294

Anno

Reg. 21

Baliol discon-  
tented returns  
into Scotland.

1296.

Anno

Reg. 23

The occasion  
of the wars be-  
tweene Eng-  
land and Scot-  
land.

appointed for pleading: Hee craves to answer by a Procurator: it is denied: then himselfe arises, and descends to the ordinary place, and defends his cause.

With which Indignity (as he tooke it) hee returns home, with a breast full charged with indignation: Meditates revenge, renews the Ancient League with France: Confirms it with the marriage of his sonne *Edward* with a daughter of *Charles* brother to King *Philip*, glad in regard of late offences taken against the King of *England*, to embrace the same: Which done, *Baliol* defies King *Edward*; renounces his Allegiance as unlawfully done, being not in his power (without the consent of the State) to doe any such act. Hereupon brake out that mortall dissention betweene the two Nations (which during the reigne of the three last Scottish Kings had held faire correspondence together) that consumed more Christian blood, wrought more spoyle, and destruction, and continued longer than ever quarrell we reade of did betweene any two people of the World. For hee that beganne it, could not end it. That Rancor which the Sword had bred, and the perpetually-working desire of Revenge of wrongs (that ever beget wrongs, lasted almost three hundred yeares. And all the Successors of this King (even to the last, before this blessed Union) have had their shares more or lesse in this miserable affliction, both to their great expence of treasure, and extreame hinderance in all other their designs. Although the intencion of this great and Martiall King, for reducing this whole Isle under one government, was Noble, and according to the Nature of power, and greatnesse, that ever seekes to extend it selfe as farre as it can: Yet all such Actions hath much of iniquity, so had this, and we see it was not force or the Sword could effect it. God had fore-decreed to make it his owne worke by a cleaner way, and ordained it for an unstayned hand to set it together in peace, that it might take the more sure, and lasting hold, which otherwise it could never have done. Violence may joyne Territories, but never affections together, which onely must grow voluntary, and be the worke of it selfe. And yet no doubt it was in the designe of this King to have obtained it in the fairest manner he could. As first shewes his seeking to match his sonne *Edward* with *Margaret* daughter to the King of *Norway*, grand-childe, and heire to the last King *Alexander*, who (dying an Infant soone after her Grand-father) disappointed his hopes that way; and drave him to have recourse to his Sovereignty, which being opposed, he was forced to take the way of Violence, both to maintaine his owne honour, and to effect what he had begunne: Whereof the miserable events were such, as now wee may well spare their memory, and be content those bloody Relations should be razed out of all Record; but that they serve to shew us the woefull calamities of our separation, and the comfortable blessings wee enjoy by this our happy Union. Neyther doth it now concerne us to stand upon any points of Honour, whether of the Nations did the bravest exploits in those time, seeing who had the better was beaten, neyther did the over-commer Conquer, when he had done what he could: That little which was gayned, cost so much more than it was worth, as it had beene better not to have beene had at all. And if any side had the Honour, it was the invaded Nation, which being the weaker, and smaller, seemes never to have beene subdued, though often over-come: Continuing (notwithstanding all their miseries) resolute to preserve their Liberties; which never people of the world more Nobly defended, against so Potent, and rich a Kingdome as this, by the which, without an admirable hardinesse, and



and constancie, it had beene impossible but they must have beene brought to an utter consternation.

For all what the power of this kingdome could doe (which then put all the strength to doe what it could) was shewed in this Kings time: Who now (upon this defection of King Baliol, and his League made with France) counter-leagues with all the Princes hee could draw in, either by gifts or alliance to strengthen his party abroad. As first with Guy Earle of Flanders, with whose Daughter he seekes to match his Sonne Edward. Then with Adolph de Nassau the Emperour, to whom he sends fifteene thousand pounds Sterling, to recover certaine lands of the Empire which Adolph claimed in France: Hee had likewise married one of his Daughters to the Duke of Barre, who pretends Title to Champagne, another to John Duke of Brabant: All which, with many other confining Princes, hee sets upon the King of France; who had (for certaine spoyles committed on the coast of Normandy by the English, and no redresse obtained) summoned King Edward, as owing Homage to that Crowne, to appeare and answer it in his Court; which he refusing to doe, is by an Arrest condemned to forfeite all his Territories in France: And an Army is presently sent forth to seize upon the same, led by Charles de Valois, and Arnold de Neelle Constable of France. Burdeaux with divers other Peeces of importance are taken and fortified. To the recovery whereof, the King of England sends over his Brother Edmond Earle of Lancaster, the Earles of Lincoln and Richmond, with eight and twenty Banners, seven hundred men at Armes, and a Navie of three hundred and sixty Sayle. And notwithstanding all this mighty charge and Forces imployed in those parts; King Edward sets upon King Baliol, (refusing upon Summons to appeare at his Court at New Castle, standing upon his owne defence) and enters Scotland with an Army sufficient to conquer a farre mightier kingdome, consisting of foure thousand men at Armes on Horse, and thirty thousand Foote, besides five hundred Horse, and one thousand Foote of the Bishop of Duresme: intending heere to make speedy worke that he might afterward passe over Sea to ayde his confederates, and be revenged of the King of France.

Barwicke is first wonne with the death of fifteene thousand Scots; (our Writers report more) but nothing is more uncertaine than the number of the slaine in Battailles; and after that the Castles of Dunbarre, Roxborough, Edenborough, Sterling, and Saint Johns Townes were wonne or yeelded unto him: King Baliol sues for peace, submits himselfe, takes againe his Oath of Fealty to King Edward, as his Sovereigne Lord. Which done, a Parliament for Scotland was held at Barwicke, wherein the Nobility did likewise Homage unto him, confirming the same by their Charter under their Hand and Seales. Onely William Douglasse refuses, content rather to endure the misery of a prison, than yeeld to the subjection of England: King Baliol (Notwithstanding his submission) is sent prisoner into England, after his foure yeares dignity, I cannot say Reigne: For it seemes hee had but little power, and King Edward returns from this expedition, leaving John Warreine Earle of Surrey and Suffex, Warden of all Scotland, Hugh Cressingham Treasurer, and Ormesby Chiefe Iustice, with Commission to take in his name, the Homages, and Fealties of all such as held Lands of that Crowne.

And here this conquest might seeme to have beene effected, which yet was not. It must cost infinite more blood, travaile, and treasure, and all to as little effect. And now the French businesses (that require speedy helpe) are

King Edwards  
combines with  
other Princes.

An Army sent  
into France.

Another into  
Scotland.

1297.  
Anno  
Reg. 24

King Edwards  
Victories in  
Scotland.

1298.  
Anno  
Reg. 25

The King puts  
the Clergy out  
of his protec-  
tion.

725:

1011

1298

1298

The Lords re-  
fule to goe to  
Gascoigne ex-  
cept the King  
went in per-  
son.

Mat. west.

wholly intended. For which King Edward calls a Parliament at Saint Edmonds Bury, wherein the Citizens and Burgeses of good Townes granted the eighth part of their goods, and other of the people a twelfth part. But the Clergy (upon a prohibition from Pope Boniface, that no Tallage or Imposition, laid by any Prince, upon whatsoever appertained to the Church, should be paid) absolutely refuse to give any thing. Which prohibition may seeme to have beene produced by themselves, in regard of the many Levies lately made upon the Estate Ecclesiasticall. As in Anno Reg. 22. they paid the moiety of their goods: of which the Abbey of Canterbury yeelded 396 pounds 7 shillings and 10 pence; and besides furnished six horses for the sea-coasts. This Leavy, as Stow notes in his collection, amounted to fixe hundred thousand pounds. And in Anno Reg. 23. the King seized into his hands all the Priories Aliens, and their goods. Besides, he had a loane of the Clergy, which amounted to 100 thousand pounds, whereof the Abbot of Bury paid 655 pounds.

Notwithstanding now, upon this their refusall, the King puts the Clergy out of his protection, whereby they were to have no Iustice in any of his Courts (a straine of State beyond any of his predeceffours) which so amazed them being exposed to all offences and injuries whatsoever, & no meanes to redresse themselves, as the Archbishop of Yorke, with the Bishops of Dunelm, Eley, Salisbury, Lincolne, yeelded to lay downe in their Churches the fifth part of all their goods, towards the maintenance of the Kings Warres: whereby they appeased his wrath; and were received into grace. But the Archbishop of Canterbury, by whose animation the rest stood out, had all his goods seized on, and all the Monasteries within his Diocese and part of Lincolne, taken into the Kings hands, and Wardens appointed to minister onely necessities to the Monkes, converting the rest to the Kings use. At length by such sute, the Abbots, and Priests giving the fourth part of their goods, redeeme themselves, and the Kings favour. Thus will martiall Princes have their turnes served by their Subjects in the times of their necessities, howsoever they oppose it.

During this contract with the Clergy, the King calls a Parliament of his Nobles at Salisbury, without admision of any Church-men; wherein He requires certaine of the great Lords to goe upon the Warres of Gascoigne, which required a present supply, upon the death of his brother Edmond, who having spent much Treasure and time in the siege of Bayona, without any successe, retires to Bayon, then in possession of the English, and there ends his life. But they all making their excuses every man for himselfe, the King in great anger threatned, they should either goe, or he would give their lands to others that should. Wherupon Humfrey Bohun Earle of Hereford, high Constable, and Roger Bigod Earle of Norfolk Marshall of England, make their declaration, that if the King went in person they would attend him, otherwise not. Which answer more offends, and being urged againe: The Earle Marshall protested he would willingly goe thither with the King, and march before him in the Vantgard, as by right of inheritance he ought to doe. But the King told him plainly he should goe with any other, although himselfe went not in person. I am not so bound, said the Earle, neither will I take that journey without you. The King swore by God, Sir Earle you shall goe or hang. And I sweare by the same oath, I will neither goe nor hang, said the Earle, and so without leave departs.

Shortly after, the two Earles assembled many Noblemen, and others their friends to the number of thirty Bannerets, so that they were fifteen hundred

dred men at Armes well appointed, and stood upon their owne guard. The King like a prudent Prince who knew his times, prosecutes them not as then, but lets the matter passe. In regard that both his businesse in France, and the pressing necessity of ayding his Confederates (whereon his honour and whole estate abroad depended) called him over into Flanders; which the King of France had now invaded; pretending the same Title of Sovereignty to that Province, as King Edward did to Scotland. And having had intelligence of the intended Alliance, and other designs of the Earle Guy, sends for him (as if knowing nothing thereof) to come with his Wife and Daughter to make merry with him at Paris: where instead of feasting, hee makes him prisoner, and takes from him his Daughter, in regard he sought, being his vassall, to match her to the Sonne of his capitall Enemy. The Earle excuses it the best he could, and by much mediation is released, and suffered to depart, but without his Daughter: Of whose surprise and detention (contrary to the Law of Nations) hee complains to the Pope, and other Princes, who earnestly urge the release of the young Lady, but all in vaine; and thereupon this Earle (presuming on the ayde of his Confederates) takes Armes, and defies the King of France: who now comes with an Army of sixty thousand against him; which caused the King of England to make what speede he could, to releve this distressed Earle, and to leave all his other businesses at home in that broken estate which he did; the Scots in revolt, and his owne people in discontent. For which yet he tooke the best order he could, leaving the administration of the Kingdome during his absence to the Prince, & certaine especiall Councillors, as the Bishop of London, the Earle of Warwick, the Lord Reginald Gray and Clifford, and besides, to recover the Clergy received the Archbishop of Canterbury into favour.

And being ready now to take ship, the Archbishops, Bishops, Earles, Barons, and the Commons send him in a Roll of the generall greevances of his Subjects: Concerning his Taxes, Subsidies, and other Impositions; with his seeking to force their services by unlawfull courses: his late impost laid of forty shillings upon every sack of wooll, being before but halfe a Marke, estimating the Wooll of England to a fift part of all the substance thereof. The King sends answer, that he could not alter any thing without the advise of his Councell, which were not now about him: And therefore required them, seeing they would not attend him in this journey (which they absolutely refused to doe though hee went in person, unlesse he had gone into France or Scotland) that they would yet doe nothing in his absence prejudiciall to the peace of the kingdome. And that upon his returne, he would set all things in good order as should be fit.

And so with 500 Sayle, eightene thousand men at Armes, hee puts out for this journey, wherein Fortune shewed him, how he should not be alwayes his: For, contrary to his expectation he found the Country of Flanders distracted into popular factions; a rich and proud people, who though they were willing to ayde their Prince, and defend their Liberties (which they respected more than their Obedience) yet would they not be commanded otherwise than themselves pleased. And now the King of France, daily getting upon them (having wonne Lisle, Donwy, Courtray, Burges, and Dam; and the Emperour Adolph failing of his aide and personall assistance, as an interested confederate often doe, especially having received their gage before hand, as had this Emperour to the summe of 100 thousand Markes) drave the King of England into great perplexity, and held him within long delayes, to his extreme travaile and expences: which forced him to send over for more supply of Treasure, and give order for a Parliament to bee held at

The French King invites the Earle of Flanders to Paris, & there imprisons him.

The French invades Flanders.

This Roll of grievances is recorded by Tho. Waviz.

1299.  
Anno  
Reg. 26

King Edward passes over into Flanders, to the ayde of the Earle Guy.



A Parliament  
held at *Yorke*  
in the absence  
of the King.

The *Gantois*  
takes Armes  
against the  
*English*.  
King *Edward*  
in danger.  
Hee returnes  
into *England*.

The History of  
*France*.

1300.  
*Anno*  
*Reg. 27*

King *Edward*  
prosecutes his  
*Scottish* busi-  
ness.  
*William Wal-*  
*lice* animates  
the *Scots* a-  
gainst the sub-  
jection of *Eng-*  
*land*.

*Yorke* by the Prince, and such as had the manage of the State in his absence. Wherein, for that he would not be disappointed, he condescends to all such Articles as were demanded concerning the great Charter: promising, from thence forth never to charge his Subjects otherwise than by their consents in Parliament, and to pardon such as had denied to attend him in this journey. For which the Commons of the Realme granted him the ninth pennie of their goods: The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the Clergy of the Province the tenth penny: *Yorke* and his Province the fifth: so the Kings instant wants are releev'd, and the kingdome satisfied for a present shift. But it is not well with a State wherethe Prince and people seeke but to obtaine their severall ends, and worke upon the advantages of each others necessities: for as it is unsincere, so it is often unsuccessfull, and the good so done hurts more than it pleasures.

The King thus supplied, staves all this Winter in *Gauit*, where his people committing many outrages, so exasperates the *Gantois*, as they tooke Armes, made head against them, slew many, and put the Kings person in great danger: so that, doe what the Earle *Guy* and himselfe could to appeale them, in satisfying such as had received wrong, and giving the rest faire words, hee hardly could escape safe out of the Countrey, which rather desired to have the *English* commodities, than their companies. This was the successe of his journey into *Flanders*, which hee leaves at the Spring of the yeare, having concluded a truce with the King of *France* for two yeares. And the poore Earle *Guy* left to himselfe, is shortly after made the prey of his Enemy, and is prisoner in *Paris*; where hee and his daughter both dyed of griefe. And *Flanders* is reduced to a possession, though not to the subjection of the King of *France*. For after they had received him for their Lord, his exactions and oppressions upon them, contrary to their ancient Liberties so armed the whole people, being rich and mighty, as they gave *France* the greatest wound that ever before it received at one blow; which was at the famous Battell of *Courtray*, wherein the Earle of *Artoise* Generall of the Army, *Arnold de Neel* Constable of *France*, and all the Leaders with twelve thousand Gentlemen were slaine. And to shew what the King of *France* got, by seeking to attaine this Sovereignty of *Flanders*, as well as wee shall heare of the King of *England*'s getting upon *Scotland* for the same title: It is recorded in their Histories, that in the space of eleven years, this quarrell cost the lives of a hundred thousand *French* men. Besides, it drave the King likewise to consume the substances of his people, as well as their blood, and to loade them with new impositions, as that of *Malletote* and the tenth *Denier* upon *livre* of all Merchandises, which in the Collection bred great out-cries, and dangerous seditions among his subjects: And these were the fruits of these great attempters.

Now for King *Edward* of *England*, he presently after his returne, falls anew upon *Scotland*, which in his absence had beaten his Officers, and people almost out of the Countrey, slaine Sir *Hugh Cressingham* with 6000 *English*: recovered many Castles, and regained the Towne of *Berwicke*. And all by the animation and conduct of *William Wallace* a poore private Gentleman (though nobly descended) who seeing his Countrey without a Head, and thereby without a Heart (all the great men either in captivity, or subjection) assembles certaine of as poore and desperate estate as himselfe, and leades them to attempt upon whatsoever advantages they could discover, to annoy the *English*. And having therein good successe, it so increased both his courage and company, as hee afterwards comes to bee the generall

Guardian

Guardian of the whole kingdome : leades their Armies, effects those great defeits upon the Enemie, and was in possibility to have absolutely redeemed his Countrey from the subjection of *England*, had not some private emulation amongst themselves, and the speedie coming of King *Edward* with all his power prevented him. So much could the Spirit of one brave man worke, to set up a whole Nation upon their feete, that lay utterly cast downe. And as well might hee at that time have gotten the Dominion for himselfe, as the place hee had; but that hee held it more glory to preserve his Countrey, than to get a Crowne. For which he hath his immortall honour; and whatsoever praise can be given to meere Vertue, must bee ever due to him.

And now King *Edward*, to bring his worke neere together, removes his Exchequer and Courts of Iustice to *Torke*, where they continued above sixe yeares. And thither calls he a Parliament, requiring all his Subjects that held of him by Knights service, to be ready at *Roxborough* by a peremptory day: where are assembled three thousand men at Armes on barded horses, and foure thousand other armed men on horse without bards, with an Army on foote answerable, consisting most of *Welsh* and *Irish*: besides, five hundred men at Armes out of *Gasconie*, and with this power makes he his second expedition into *Scotland*.

The Earles of *Hereford* and *Norfolke*, notwithstanding their former contempts, attend him. And although hee were thus girt with all this strength, and in the midst of his mightinesse, they urge the ratifications of two Charters, and their pardons: which they held not sufficient to secure them, in regard the King was out of the Realme at the late granting thereof. The Bishop of *Duresme*, the Earles of *Surrey*, *Warwick*, and *Glocester* undertooke for the King, that after he had subdued his Enemies and was returned, hee should satisfie them therein. And so these two Earles with the Earle of *Lincolne*, led his Vantguard at the famous Battaille of *Fankirke*, which the King of *England* got, wherein are reported to be slaine 200 Knights, and fortie thousand foote of the *Scots*. But *William Wallace* with some few escaped to make more worke.

And here againe that kingdome might seeme as if quite overcome. Most of the Estates of the Earles and Barons of *Scotland* (with their Titles) that had stood out, were bestowed on the *English* Nobility, to make them the more eger to maintaine and prosecute this Conquest. And a Parliament is called at *Saint Andrewes*, where all the great men of that kingdome (except onely *Wallace*) againe sweare fealty to the King of *England*.

The *Scottish* Writers here set a wide marke of Tyrannie upon King *Edward* in this expedition. As not content to carry away captive all such as might seeme to have any the least ability to fixre, but also endeavours to extinguish, if it were possible, the very memory of the Nation, abolishing all their ancient Lawes, reducing their Ecclesiasticall rights to the custome of *England*, dispoysing them of their Histories, their instruments of State, their antique Monuments, left either by the Romans, or erected by themselves: transporting all their Bookes and Booke-men into *England*: Sending to *London* the Marble stone, wherein (as the vulgar were perswaded) the fate of the kingdome consisted; and left them nothing that might either incite them to remember their former fortune, or instruct generouse spirits in the way of vertue and worthinesse; so that he bereaved them not onely of their strength, but of their mindes, supposing thereby to establish a perpetuall Domination over that kingdome.

This journey ended, a Parliament is called at *Westminster*, wherein the pro-

King *Edward* removes his Exchequer and Courts of Iustice to *Torke*.

The famous Battell of *Fankirke*. The *Scots* overthrown.

A Parliament at *S. Andrewes*.

The *Scottish* Writers inveigh against the tyrannie of King *Edward*.

A Parliament  
at Westminster.

1301.  
Anno  
Reg. 28

misd confirmation of the two *Charters*, and the allowance of what restitution had heretofore beene made, was earnestly urged, and in the end with much adoe granted, with omission of the *Clause*, *Salvo Iure Corona nostra*, which the King laboured to have inserted, but the people would not endure the same: the perambulation of the Forrefts of *England* is committed to three Bishops, three Earles, and three Barons.

In this litle pause of peace at home, a concord is, by the mediation of Pope *Boniface*, concluded with the King of *France*: whose sister *Margaret* the King of *England* takes to wife in the sixty two yeare of his age (something too late for so young a Match) and the daughter of the same King is likewise affianced to the Prince. And thereupon restitution made of what had beene usurped by the *French King* in *Gascoigny*. *Burdeaux* returns to the obedience of the King of *England*, to the Merchants of which City hee paid 150 thousand pounds for his brother *Edmonds* expences in the late warres, and all is well on that side. Besides, the same Pope obtained permission for *Iohn Baliol* the captive King of *Scots* to depart and live in *France* upon certaine lands he had there, and undertooke for his observation of the peace, and his confinement; who shortly after dyes, having had litle joy of a Crowne, or scarce leisure to know he was a King. The decrying and calling in of a certaine base Coyne named *Crocard* and *Pollard*, with the new stamping them againe, yeelded something to the Kings Coffers: which must be emptied in *Scotland*, whither againe (having beene scarce eightene moneths at home) he makes his third expedition, but did litle, besides the regaining of *Sterling Castle* which held out three moneths siege against all his power, and Engines reared with infinite charge and labour. And in the end not wonne but yeelded up by the Defendant *William Oliver*, upon promise, which was not kept with him. The rest of the *Scots* made no head, but kept in the Mountaines and Fastnesses of their Countrey, whereby the Kings Army having more to doe with barrenesse than men, suffered much affliction, and many Horses were starved.

Now upon this peace with *France*, the *Scots* being excluded, and having none to relieve them, send their lamentable complaints to Pope *Boniface*, shewing him the afflicted state of their Countrey: the usurpation of the King of *England* upon them, and his most tyrannicall proceeding with them, contrary to all right and equity: *Prorising*, they never knew of any Sovereignty bee had over them; but that they were a free Kingdome of themselves; and so at first dealt with them, upon the death of their last King *Alexander*, both in the treaty of the marriage for his sonne *Edward*, with *Margaret* heire of *Scotland*; and also after her death for the decision of the Title, wherein he sought by their consents to be made Arbitrer, as he was. Howsoever afterward they were constrained to give way to his will; yet, what they ever yeelded unto, was by reason they were otherwise unable to resist, &c. Upon this remonstrance of the *Scots*, the Pope writes his powerfull Letters to the King of *England*, to forbear any further proceeding against them; claying withall the Sovereignty of that Kingdome, as belonging to the Church.

The King answers the Popes Letters at large, alleadging from all antiquity, how the direct and superiour Dominion of *Scotland* had ever appertained to this Crowne, even from Brute to his owne line. And withall the whole Nobility write to the Pope, avowing the same right: and absolutely conclude, that the King their Lord should in no sort undergoe his Holinesse judgement therein. Neither send his Procurators (as was required) about that businesse, whereby it might seeme that doubt were made of their Kings Title, to the prejudice of the

Crowne,



Crowne, the Royall Dignity, the Liberties, Customes and Lawes of England, which by their oath and duty they were bound to observe, and would defend with their lives. Neither would they permit, nor could, any unusuall, unlawfull, and detrimentall proceeding; nor suffer their King, if he would, to doe, or any way to attempt the same. And therefore besought his Holinesse to intermeddle no more in this matter. These Letters subscribed with all their names were dated at *Lincolne*; where then was held the Parliament Anno Domini 1301.

The Pope upon this answer, or rather having his hands full of other businesse, stirres no more in this. The King of *France* whom he had excommunicated, and given away his kingdome to the Emperour *Albert of Austria*, shortly after so wrought, as his Spirituality was surprized at *Anagni* a City of *Abruzzo*, whither he was retired from the troubles of *Rome*; and so violently treated by *Sciarra Colonne* a Banditto of *Rome*, and *Nogaret* and *Albigoye* (whom hee had both persecuted) as in extreame rage and anguish, within few dayes he ends his turbulent life.

And the King of *England* (having beene supplied with a fifteenth upon confirmation of the Charters againe; at the Parliament at *Lincolne*) he makes his fourth expedition into *Scotland*, and as it were the fourth Conquest thereof, having had foure times Homage and Fealty sworn unto him. Which might seeme sufficient to confirme his Sovereignty, whereof now hee rests secure, and home returns in triumphant manner; removes his Exchequer from *Torke*, feasts his Nobility at *Lincolne* with all magnificence: From thence he comes to *London*, and renders solemn thanks to God and Saint *Edward* for Victory. Which to make it seeme the more intire, shortly after *William Wallace* (that renowned Guardian of *Scotland*, betrayed by his companion) is sent up prisoner to *London*: adjudged according to the Lawes of *England*, to be drawne, hang'd and quartered; for his treasons committed against the King, (whom at his arraignment he would not yet acknowledge to be his King) protesting never to have Tworne fealty unto him.

Thus suffered that worthy man for the defence of his owne, in a strange Countrey, and remains amongst the best examples of Fortitude and Piety in that kinde. And now King *Edward*, being (as he supposed) at an end of all his businesse, an universall Lord at home, strong in alliance, and peace abroad, begins to looke more severely to the government of this kingdome, and to draw proficure of those disorders which the licence of warre and trouble had bred therein. And first, amongst other examples of his power (which it seemes he would have equal to his will) is the case of *Sir Nicholas Segrave*, one of the greatest Knights then of the Kingdome, who being accused of Treason by *Sir John Cromwell*, offers to justifie himselfe by Duell, which the King refuses to grant, in regard of the present warre then in hand. Whereupon *Segrave* without licence, & contrary to the Kings prohibition, leaves the Kings Campe, and goes over Sea to fight with his Enemy, for which the King (as against one that had not onely contemned him, but as much as in him lay, exposed him to death, and left him to his enemies) would have Iustice to proceede against him. Three dayes the Iudges consulted of the matter, and in the end adjudged *Segrave* guilty of death, and all his moveables and immoveables forfeited to the King. Notwithstanding in regard of the greaunesse of his blood, they added: Hee went not out of *England* in contempt of the King, but onely to be revenged of his accuser, and therefore it was in the Kings power to shew mercy unto him in this case. The King hereto in great wrath replied, *Have you beene all this while consulting of this? I know it is in my power to conferre grace, and on whom I will to have mercy, but*

1305.  
Anno  
Reg. 32.

The case of  
Sir Nicholas  
Segrave.

Mat. West.

The inquisition  
of Trailbaston.1306.  
Anno  
Reg. 33.

not the more for your sakes than for a Dogge. Who hath ever submitted himselfe to my grace, and had repulse? but let this your Iudgement be recorded, and for ever held as a Law. And so the Knight for example and terrour to others, was committed to prison, though shortly after by the labour of many Noble men of the kingdome: thirty of his Peeres with their swords standing out to be bound body for body, and goods for goods, to bring him forth whensoever he should be called; the King restored him to his estate.

Shortly after, the King likewise sends out a new Writ of Inquisition, called *Trailbaston*, for intruders on other mens Lands, who to oppresse the right owner, would make over their Land to great men: For *Batterers* hired to beate men: For *Breakers* of the peace: For *Ravishers*, *Incendiaries*, *Murderers*, *Fighters*, *false Assisors*, and other such Malefactors. Which Inquisition was so strictly executed, and such Fines taken, as it brought in exceeding much Treasure to the King. So did likewise another Commission the same time sent forth to examine the behaviour of Officers, and Ministers of Justice, wherein many were found delinquents, and paid deerely for it. Informers here, as fruitfull Agents for the *Fiske* (and never more employed than in shifting times) were in great request. Besides these meanes for Treasure above ground, this King made some profit of certaine silver Mynes in *Devonshire*, as is to be seene in *Hollingshead*; but it seeme the charge amounting to more than the benefit, they afterwards came discontinued.

The King likewise now begins to shew his resentment of the stubborne behaviour of his Nobles towards him in times past, and so terrifies *Roger Bigod* Earle Marshall, as to recover his favour, the Earle made him the heire of his Lands (though he had a brother living) reserving to himselfe a thousand pounds pension *per annum* during his life. Of others likewise, hee got great summes for the same offence. The Earle of *Hereford* escapes by death. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (whom hee accused to have disturbed his peace in his absence) he sends over to Pope *Clement* the fifth, (who succeeded *Boniface*) that he might be cruist with a double power. This Pope was native of *Burdeaux*, and so the more regardfull of the Kings desire, and the King more confident of his favour, which to entertaine and increase hee sends him a whole Furnish of all Vessels for his Chamber of cleane gold: Which great gift so wrought with the Pope, as he let loose this *Lyon*, untied the King from the covenant made with his Subjects concerning their Charters, confirmed unto them by his three last Acts of Parliament and absolved him from his oath: An act of litle piety in the Pope, & of as litle conscience in the King, who (as if he should now have no more neede of his Subjects) discovered with what sincerity he granted what he did.

But suddenly hereupon there fell out an occasion that brought him backe to his right Orbe againe, made him see his error and reforme it, finding the love of his people lawfully ordered to be that which gave him all his power and meanes hee had, and to know how their substances were intermutuall. The newes of a new King made and crowned in *Scotland*, was that which wrought the effect hereof. *Robert Bruce* Earle of *Carriick*, sonne to that *Robert* who was competitor with *Baliol*, escaping out of *England*, becomes head to the confused body of that people, which, having beene so long without any to guide them, any intire counsell, scattered in power, disunited in minde, never at one together, were cast into that miserable estate as they were. For had they had a King as well as their enemies to have led them, held them together, and managed their affaires accordingly; that which they did in this distraction; shewes how much more they would have done otherwise.

otherwise. And therefore no sooner did *Bruce* appeare in his designe, but hee effected it, had the Crowne and hands ready to helpe him at an instant; and that before rumour could get out to report any thing of it. Although *John Cumyn* his couzen-german being a Titler himselfe, a man of great love and alliance in *Scotland*, wrote to have bewrayed *Bruce*s intention to the King of *England*, in whose Court they both had lived, and were his pensioners. But *Bruce* (as great undertakers are ever awake, and ready at all houres) prevents him by speede; and either to be avenged on him for his falshood, or ridde of him as a Competitor, finding him at *Dunfrates*, sets upon and murders him in the Church.

*Bruce* murders *John Cumyn* in the Church.

Which foundation laid on blood (the place, the person, and the manner making it more odious) much stained his beginning, and effected not that security for which hee did it, but raised a mighty party in *Scotland* against him. King *Edward* (though so late acquainted herewith, as he could not be before hand with him, yet would he not be long behind to overtake him) sends *Amyer de Valence* Earle of *Pembrooke*, the Lords *Clifford* and *Percy* with a strong power to releve his Wardens of *Scotland*, who upon his revolt were all retyred to *Berwick*, whilest himselfe prepares an Army to follow. Wherin to be the more free, and nobly attended, Proclamation is made, that who soever ought by their paternall succession, or otherwise had meanes of their owne for service, should repaire to *Westminster* at the Feast of *Pentecost*, to receive the Order of Knighthood, & a Military Ornament out of the Kings Ward-robe.

King *Edward* sends and prepares for *Scotland*.

Three hundred young Gentlemen, all the sonnes of Earles, Barons, and Knights, assemble at the appointed day, & receive Purples, Silkes, Sindons, Scarfes wrought with gold or silver, according to every mans estate: For which traine (the Kings house being too litle, by reason a great part thereof was burnt upon his coming out of *Flanders*) roome is made, and the Apple-trees cut downe at the new Temple for their Tents, where they attire themselves and keepe their Vigile. The Prince (whom the King then likewise knighted, and girt with a military Belt; as an Ornament of that Honour; and withall gave him the Duchy of *Aquitaine*) kept his Vigile with his Traine at *Westminster*, and the next day girds these three hundred Knights with the Military Belt, in that manner as himselfe received it. At which ceremony the presse was so great, as the Prince was faine to stand upon the high Altar (a place for a more Divine Honour) to performe this: Which being solemnized with all the state and magnificence could be devised, the King before them all makes his vow, that alive, or dead, he would revenge the death of *Cumyn* upon *Bruce*, and the perjured Scots: Adjuring his sonne, and all the Nobles about him upon their fealty, that if hee died in this journey, they should carry his corpes with them about *Scotland*, and not suffer it to be interred, till they had vanquished the Usurper, and absolutely subdued the Countrey. A desire more Martiall than Christian, shewing a minde so bent to the world, as he would not make an end when he had done with it, but designs his travell beyond his life.

The Prince gives the honor of Knighthood to 300 Gentlemen.

The Prince and all his Nobles promise upon their faith to employ their utmost power to performe his Vow, and so upon grant of the thirtieth penny of the Clergy and the Laity, and the twentieth of all Merchants, he sets forth with a potent Army presently upon *Whitsontide*, and makes his last expedition into *Scotland*, Anno Regi 34. The Earle of *Pembrooke*, with that power sent before, and the ayde of the Scottish party (which was now greater by the partakers of the Family of *Cumyn*, being many, mighty, and eager to re-

1307.  
Anno  
Regi 34



A great execution made of the Scots.

venge his death.) had, before the King arrived in *Scotland*, defeated in a battell neere *S. Johns Towne*, the whole Army of the new King, and narrowly missed the taking of his person: who escaping in disguise, recovered an obscure shelter, and was reserved for more and greater battells: His brother *Nicoll Bruce*, and shortly after *Thomas* and *Alexander* a Priest, were taken and executed after the manner of Traytors at *Berwick*; so that King *Edward* at his coming, had not so much to doe as he expected. But yet hee passed over the Countrey, to shew them his power, and to terrifie his enemies, causing strict inquisition to bee made for all who had beene ayding to the murder of *Cumyn*, and the advancement of *Bruce*. Many and great personages are found out (being impossible amongst a broken people for any to remaine undiscovered.) and were all executed in cruell manner to the terrour of the rest. The age of the King of *England*, his choller, wrath, and desire of revenge made him vow inexorable, and to spare none of what degree soever they were. The Earle of *Athol* (though of the Royall Blood, and allyed unto him) was sent to *London*, and preferred to a higher Gallows than any of the rest. The wife of *Robert Bruce*, taken by the Lord *Rosse*, is sent prisoner to *London*, and his daughter to a Monastery in *Lindsey*. The Countesse of *Boughan* that was ayding at the Coronation of *Bruce*, is put into a wooden Cage, and hung out upon the Walls of *Berwick*, for people to gaze on.

Which rigorous proceeding rather exasperates the Enemy, and addes to the party of *Bruce*, than any way quailed it: desperation being of a sharper edge than hope. And though *Bruce* now appeared not, but shifted privily from place to place, in a distressed manner (attended onely with two noble Gentlemen, who never forsooke him in his fortunes, the Earle of *Lenox*, and *Gilbert Hay*) yet still expectation, love, and the well-wishing of his friends went with him, and so long as he was alive they held him not lost; this affliction did but harden him for future labours, which his Enemies (who now neglected to looke after him, as either holding him dead, or so downe as never to rise againe) found afterward to their cost. For this man, from being thus laid on the ground, within few yeares after gets up to give the greatest overthrow to the greatest Army that ever the *English* brought into the field, and to repay the measure of blood in as full manner as it was given.

A Parliament at *Carlisle*.

All this Summer the King spends in *Scotland*, and winters in *Carlisle*, to be ready the next Spring if any fire should breake out, to quench it. For resolved he is, not to depart, till he had set such an end to this worke, as it should neede no more. And here he holds his last Parliament, wherein the State was mindfull of the Popes late action, got many Ordinances to passe for reformation of the abuses of his Ministers, and his owne former exactions; who being but poore, sought to get where it was to be had: Wringing from the elect Archbishop of *Yorke* in one yeare nine thousand five hundred Marks: And besides, *Anthony* Bishop of *Duresme* to be made Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, gave him and his Cardinalls mighty summes. This Bishop *Anthony* is said to have had in purchases, in inheritances, five thousand Marks per annum, besides what belonged to his Myter: which shewed the Pope the riches of this kingdome, and moved him to require the fruites of one yeares revenue; of every Benefice that should fall voide in *England*, *Scotland*, *Wales*, and *Ireland*; and the like of Abbeys, Priories, and Monasteries: which though it were denied him, yet something he had; the King and hee dividing it betwixt them. The Pope granted the King the Tenth of all the Churches of *England* for two yeares: and the King yielded, that the Pope should have the first fruits of those Churches. And the better to effect this

business,

The King and Pope divide the benefit of the Clergy.

business, the Pope makes an errand, and sends *Petrus Hispanus* Cardinall & *Latre*, to call upon the King for confirmation of the Marriage between Prince *Edward* and *Isabell* daughter to the King of *France*. And this Cardinall got something, but not so much as he expected.

Whilest they were thus busie at *Carlisle*, about the opening of the Spring, opens himselfe the hidden King *Robert Bruce*, and with some forces hee had gotten together, suddenly assailes the Earle of *Pembrooke* at unawares, and gave him a great defeat; and within three dayes after chases the Earle of *Gloucester* into the Castle of *Ayn*, where hee besieged him, till by the Kings forces, hee was driven againe to his former retire. But this shewed, that so long as he was (in what estate soever he was) there would be no end of this Warre.

Which caused King *Edward* to send out his first commandement, that whosoever ought him service should presently upon the Midsummer after attend him at *Carlisle*. And withall he sends the Prince to *London*, about the business of his Marriage. In July, although he found himselfe not well, he enters *Scotland* with a fresh Army, which he led not farre; for falling into a *Dysenterie*, he dyes at *Borough* upon the sands; as if to shew on what foundation hee had built all his glory in this world, having reigned thirty and foure yeares seven moneths: aged sixty eight. A Prince of a generous spirit, wherein the fire held out even to the very last; borne and bred for action and military affaires, which hee managed with great judgement: ever wary, and provident for his owne business watchfull and eager to enlarge his power, and was more for the greatnesse of *England*, than the quiet thereof. And this wee may justly say of him, that never King before or since shedde so much Christian blood without this *Isle of Brittain*, as this Christian Warrior did in his time, and was the cause of more in that following.

Hee had issue by his first Wife *Queen Elianor* foure sonnes, whereof only *Edward* survived him, and nine Daughters, *Elianor* married first to *John* Earle of *Bury*; *Joan* to *Gilbert Clare* Earle of *Gloucester*; *Margaret* to *John* Duke of *Brabant*; *Mary* lived a Nunne in the Monastery of *Amisbury*; *Elizabeth* married first to *John* Earle of *Holland*, after to *Humphrey* *Bobun* Earle of *Hertford*, the rest died young. Hee had by his second Wife two sonnes, *Thomas* surnamed *Brotherton*, which was Marshall and Earle of *Norfolk*, and *Edmond* Earle of *Kent*.

The end of the Life and Reigne of Edward the first.

*The Life and Reigne of Edward the second.*

**E**dward of *Carnarvan* removed more than one degree from the Father in height of Spirit, and neerer the Grand-father in flexibility, and easinesse of nature (which made him apt to be taken) began his Reigne in July 1307, in the three and twentieth year of his age. A Prince which shewes us what confusion & mischief attends ryot, disorder, neglect of the State, and advancing unworthy, or ill-disposed Minions, to the prejudice of others, the grieve of the people, and the diminution of the Royall Majestie. And though his youth might somewhat excuse the first sicknesse of his private favours, yet those often relapses of his, shewed it was an habituall indisposition in the whole state of his minde; not to be cured.

Never was Prince received with greater love and opinion of all, or ever any

King Bruce covers new forces.

King Edward enters Scotland and dies there.

1340.  
Anno  
Reg. 35.

His Issue.

1307.  
Anno  
Reg. 1.

King Edward  
the first imprisoned  
his son,  
and exiled  
Pierce Gave-  
ston An. R. 33.

Pierce Gave-  
ston recalled &  
preferred by  
the King.

A Parliament  
at Northamp-  
ton held before  
the coronati-  
on.  
The Marriage  
of King Ed-  
ward solemniz-  
ed at Bologne.

Gaveston cor-  
rupts the king.

The Lords are  
displeased with  
Gaveston

any that sooner lost it. For his very first actions discovered a head-strong wilfulness that was uncouncellable: Whereof the entertayning againe his old Companion *Pierce Gaveston* was one, whom the Father had banished the Kingdome, finding him to have corrupted the youth of his Sonne, and leade him to commit any ryots: Amongst which was the breaking of the Parke of the Bishop of *Chester*, for which he both imprisoned his sonne, and exiled *Gaveston*. Besides, this provident King (as if fore-seeing the mischief might ensue) at his Death charged his sonne (upon his blessing) never to recall or entertaine *Pierce Gaveston* againe about him, and required the Lords (who were present) to see his will observed therein: Which notwithstanding, hee brake before his Fathers Funeralls were performed; and not onely entertaines, but invests *Gaveston* in the Earldome of *Cornwall* and the Lordship of *Man*; being both of the Demaines of the Crown, & makes him his chiefe Chamberlaine. Then to be revenged on the Bishop of *Chester* his Fathers Treasurer (who had abridged his expences, and complained of him for his Ryot) he caused him to be arrested, committed to Prison, and seises upon all his goods, which hee gave to *Gaveston*: makes a new Treasurer of his owne; remooves most of his Fathers Officers; and all without the advice, or consent of his Councell, which gave them their first discontent, and bewrayed his disposition.

Before his Coronation, a Parliament was held at *Northampton*, wherein was ordained, that the Monies of his Father (notwithstanding the people held them base, should be Current, and a fifteenth of the Clergy, a Twentieth of the Temporality is there granted. After the Funeralls performed at *Westminster*, he passes over to *Bologne*, where his Nuptials with *Isabel*, Daughter to *Philippe Bel*, are sumptuously solemnized, at which were present the King of *France*, the King of *Navarre*, his Sonne, the King of *Almaine*, the King of *Sicile*, and three Queenes besides the Bride, with an extraordinary concourse of other Princes. At which Feast *Gaveston* is sayd to have exceeded them all in bravery, and daintinesse of attire, wherewith afterward hee infected the Court of *England*. A mischief the most contagious to breede Consumption in a State, (that can bee introduced. For, the imitation thereof presently distends it selfe over all, and passes beyond the example, and at length all meanes to maintaine it. And had he done no other hurt to the Kingdome than this, it had beene enough to have made him (as hee was) odious thereunto. But besides, he afterwards filled the Court with Buffons, Parasites, Minstrels, Players, and all kinde of dissolute persons to entertaine, and dissolve the King with delights and pleasures. Whereby he so possesse him, as he regarded no other company, no other exercise, but continually day and night spent his time, and treasure in all wantonnesse, ryot, and disorder: neglecting the affaires of the State, and the company, and counsell of all the rest of the Nobles: who assembling together (at the instant, when he was to be crowned with his Queene at *Westminster*, Anno Reg. 2.) require him that *Gaveston* might be removed from the Court, and Kingdome; otherwise they purposed to hinder his Coronation, at that time. Whereupon the King to avoyde so great a disgrace, promises on his faith, to yeeld to what they desired in the next Parliament; and the solemnity with much festination, and little reverence is performed. Wherein *Gaveston* for carrying *Saint Edwards* Crowne before the King, aggravates the hatred of the Clergy, and Nobility against him.

Shortly after his Coronation, all the Knights Templars throughout *England* are at once arrested, and committed to prison. Then were an order

of



of Knights instituted by *Baldwin* the fourth King of *Jerusalem* about two hundred yeares past, and first appointed for the defence of that Citty, and the safe conveying of all such as travailed thither: afterwards they were dispersed through all the Kingdomes of Christendome, and by the pious bounty of Princes, and others, enriched with infinite possessions, which made them to degenerate from their first institution, and become execrably vicious. So that all the Kings of Christendome at one instant (combining together) caused them to bee apprehended within their Dominions, and put out of their order, and estates. The King of *France* beganne, having a purpose to make one of his sonnes King of *Jerusalem*, and possesse him of their revenues. Their accusations followes their apprehension, and condemned they are (rather by fame than prooffe) in the generall Councell at *Vienna*; as appeares by the condemnatory Bull of *Pope Clement* the third: wherein hee hath this clause, *Quamquam de jure non possumus, tamen ad plenitudinem potestatis, dictum ordinem reprobamus*. Their estates are after given to the *Hospitaliers*.

The Knights  
Templars ar-  
rested and  
committed to  
prison.  
Their dissolu-  
tion.

These busineses passed over, the Lords prosecute their purpose against *Gaveston*, whose insolency, and presumption upon the Kings favour, made him so farre to forget himselfe, as he scorned the best of them all, as much as they hated him; Tearing *Thomas Earle of Lancaster* the Stage player: *Ajmer de Valence Earle of Pembroke*, *Joseph the Jew*, and *Guy Earle of Warwick*, the blacke dogge of *Arden*: Which scoffes, leaving behinde them the sting of revenge (especially where they touch) drew such a party upon him, as in the next Parliament, the whole Assembly Humbly besought the King to advise, and treat with his Nobles, concerning the State of the Kingdome, for the avoiding of imminent mischise, likely to insue through neglect of government; and so farre urges the matter, as the King consents thereunto, and not onely grants them libertie to draw into Articles what was requisite for the Kingdome, but takes his Oath to ratifie whatsoever they should conclude. Whereupon they elect certaine choyce men both of the Clergy, Nobility and Commons, to compose those Articles. Which done, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, lately recalled from exile, with the rest of his Suffragans, solemnly pronounce the sentence of excommunication against all such who should contradict those Articles which are there publicly read before the Barons and Commons of the Realme, in the presence of the King. Amongst which the observation and execution of *Magna Charta* is required, with all other ordinances necessary for the Church and Kingdome. And that as the late King had done, all Strangers should be banished the Court, and Kingdome, and all ill Counsellors removed. That the businesse of the State should be treated only in the Councell of the Clergy, and the Nobles. That the King should not begin any war, or goe any way out of the Kingdome, without the Common Councell of the same.

The Lords  
prosecute *Ga-  
veston*.

13 10.

Anno  
Reg. 3.

A Parliament  
The King  
takes his  
Oath to  
ratifie what-  
soever Articles  
the Lords  
would con-  
clude in Par-  
liament.

Which Articles though they seemed harsh to the King, yet to avoyde further trouble hee yeelds unto them, but especially to the banishment of his Minion, as if that would excuse him for all the rest; and away is he sent into *Ireland*, where he lived a while, not as a man exiled, but as the Lieutenant of the Countrey. The King not enduring to bee without his company, never ceased working till hee had recalled him backe againe: which within a few moneths after hee did. And to make him (as hee thought) to stand the faster on his feete, hee marries him to his Neece (the daughter of *Joan de Acres*) sister to *Gilbert de Clare Earle of Gloucester*, a man beloved and highly esteemed of all the Nobility: for whose sake he hoped *Gaveston* should

*Gaveston* bi-  
anished into  
*Ireland*.

*Gaveston* re-  
called.

finde the more favour amongst them, but all this could not shelter him. Either his behaviour, or their malice was such as they could not indure to have him about the King, who by making him so great lessened him, and the more he was enriched, the worse was his estate. The Subjects spectators of their Kings immoderate gifts, held it to be taken out of the bowels of the Common-wealth, and as it were of their substance that was so wasted. For it is reported, the King gave him the Jewels of the Crowne, which hee sold to Merchant strangers, and conveyed much treasure out of the Kingdome, whereby the King sustained great wants, and the Queene is abridged of her allowance, whereof shee complaines to the King of France her Father.

The Lords  
threaten the  
King.

Gaveston a-  
gain banni-  
shed.

Gaveston re-  
turnes.

The Lords  
take Armes.

Gaveston is  
taken and be-  
headed;

These stunges put the Barons on to send plaine word to the King, *That unlesse he put from him Pierce Gaveston, and observe the late Articles, they would all with one consent rise in armes against him, as a perjured Prince.* The King (whom they found was apt to be terrified) yeelds againe upon this message to the Banishment of his Minion: whose fortune being to have a weake master, was driven to these sudden extremities, and disgracefull expulsions, at their will who were his enviers; and whonow obtaine this claule; *That if hereafter he were found againe within the Kingdome, he should bee condemned to death as an enemy to the State.* Ireland was now no more to protect him: France most unsafe for him (wait being there layd to apprehend him) in Flanders hee lurkes a while, but in great danger; and finding no where any security, backe againe hee adventures upon England, and unto the Kings bosome (the sanctuary he thought would not be violated) he puts himselfe, and there is he received with as great joy as ever man could be. And to bee as farre out of the way and eye of envy as might be, the King carries him into the North parts, where notwithstanding the Lords shortly after found him out. For no sooner had they heard of his returne, and receiving into grace, but they presently combine and take Armes, electing Thomas Earle of Lancaster for their Leader. This Thomas was the sonne of Edmond, the second son of Henry the third: and was likewise Earle of Leicester, Ferrers and Lincolne, a most powerfull and popular Subject, with whom joynes Humfrey Bohun Earle of Hereford, Aymer de Valence, Earle of Pembroke, Guy de Beaucham Earle of Warwick, the Earle of Arundell (with many other Barons.) But Gilbert Earle of Gloucester the Kings Nephew, for that he would neyther offend him, nor be wanting to his Peeres, stands as Mediator for their liberties, and the peace of the Kingdome. The Earle Warrein remained a while doubtfull, and favouring rather the Kings part, till the Archbishop of Canterbury induced him to consent with the Lords: who being thus prepared send to the King in the behalfe of the whole Communality, *Beseeching him to deliver up unto them Pierce Gaveston, or else to send him away with his traine out of England.* The King neglecting their petition, they set forward in Armes toward the North. The King and Gaveston, withdrew to Newcastle, and there being advertised of the strength of the Lords, they take Ship (leaving the Queene in much griefe behind) and land at Scarborough Castle; whereinto the King puts Gaveston with the best forces he could provide for his defence, and departs himselfe towards Warwickshire.

The Earles of Pembroke and Warrein sent by the Earle of Lancaster to lay siege to the Castle, Gaveston is forced to render himselfe into their hands, but intreats thus much, that he might be brought once more to speake with the King, and then after they should do with him what they pleased. The Earle of Pembroke undertakes upon his honour hee should, but as his servants were

con-

conducting him towards the King, the Earle of Warwicke tooke him from them by force, and commits him to the Castle of Warwicke, where after some consultation among the Lords (notwithstanding the Kings earnest solicitation for his life,) they condemned him to the blockey, and tooke off his head.

This was the end of *Pierce Gaveston*, who for that he was the first Privado of this kind ever noted in our History, and was above a King in his life, deserves to have his Character amongst Princes being dead. Native hee was of *Gascogne*; and for the great service his father had done to this Crowne, entertained and bred up by King *Edward* the first, in companie with his sonne this Prince, which was the meanes that invested him into that high favour of his. Hee was of a goodly personage, of an haughtie and undauntable spirit; brave and hardy at Armes, as hee shewed himselfe in that Turnement which hee held at *Wallingford*, wherein hee challenged the best of the Nobility, and is sayd to have foyled them all; which inflamed the more their malice towards him. In *Ireland* where he was Lieutenant during the short time of his banishment, he made a Journey into the mountaines of *Dublin*, brake and subdued the Rebels there, built *Newcastle* in the *Kerns* Country, repaired *Castle Keuin*, and after passed up into *Munster* and *Thomond*, performing every where great service with much valour and worthinesse. Hee seemes to have beene a Courtier which could not fawne nor stoope to those he loved not, or put on any disguise upon his Nature to temporize with his enemies; But presuming upon his fortune (the misfortune of such men) grew in the end to that arrogancie as was intollerable, which the privacie of a Kings favour usually begets in their Minions, whose understanding and judgement being dazzled therewith, as is their sight who stand and look downe from off high places, never discern the ground from whence they ascended. And this extraordinary favour shewed to one though he were the best of men, when it arises to an excessse, is like the predomination of one humour alone in the body, which indaungers the health of the whole, and especially if it light upon unworthinesse, or where is no desert, and commonly Princes raise men rather for appetite than merit, for that in the one they shew the freedome of their power, in the other they may seeme but to pay their debt.

But this violent part of the Lords shewed the nature of a rough time, and was the beginning of the second Civill Warre of *England*. For now having had their desire in this, and finding their owne power and the weaknesse of the King, they peremptorily require the confirmation and execution of all those Articles formerly granted; threatening the King that unlesse hee presently performed the same, they would constraine him thereunto by strong hand. Thus will Libertie never cease till it grow licentious; and such is the misery of a State, where a King hath once lost his reputation with his people, and where his Nature agrees not with his Office, or answers the duties thereunto belonging. And with this menacing message they had their Swords likewise ready drawne, and with strong forces assemble about *Dunstable*, making towards *London*, where the King then lay.

The great Prelates of the Kingdome, with the Earle of *Glocester* labours to appease them, and (with two Cardinals, which at that time were sent by the Pope to reforme these disorders of the Kingdome) they repaire to *Saint Albans* and desire conference with the Lords, who receive them very peaceably, but the Letters which the Pope had written unto them, they refuse to receive, saying, *They were men of the Sword, and cared not for reading of Letters.*

London Hist.

The description of *Pierce Gaveston*.

The miserable estate of Minions.

The miserable estate of Minions.

The miserable estate of Minions.

The peremptory proceedings of the Lords.

The peremptory proceedings of the Lords.

The Prelates and the Earle of *Glocester* labour to pacifie and bring in the Lords.

The Prelates and the Earle of *Glocester* labour to pacifie and bring in the Lords.



Their submis-  
sion.

1313.  
*Anno*  
*Reg. 5.*

Queene Isabel delivered  
of a Sonne.

A Parliament.

The Lords  
are pardoned.  
A fifteenth  
granted.

1314.  
*Anno*  
*Reg. 6.*

King Bruce  
grows strong  
in Scotland.  
King Edward  
goes with a  
mighty army  
into Scotland.

that there were many worthy and learned men in the Kingdome whose Counsels they would use; and not strangers, who knew not the cause of their commotion: absolutely concluding, that they would not permit Forrainers and Aliens to intermeddle in their actions, or in any businesse that concerned the kingdome. With which answer the Cardinalls returned to London. But the Prelates of England so labour the businesse as the Lords were content to yeeld up to the King such Horses, Treasure, and Jewels as they had taken of *Pierce Gaveston* at *Newcastle*, so that the King would graunt their petitions. And thereupon *John Sandall* Treasurer of the Kingdome, and *Ingelard Warle* Keeper of the Wardrobe, are sent to *Saint Albans* to receive those things at their hands.

About this time *Queene Isabel* is delivered of a sonne at *Winsor*, whom *Louys* her brother, and other great men and Ladies of *France*, would have had christened by the name of her father *Phillip*, but the Nobility of *England* had him named *Edward*. And here the King keeps his Christmas, feasts the *French* with great Magnificence, and is sayd (or rather suspected) to be evill counselled by them against his Nobles, betweene whom there being so ill correspondence already, any imagination serves to make it worse, *Suspicion* causing all things to be taken in ill part.

Shortly after, a Parliament is called at *London*, wherein the King complains of the great contempt was had of him by the Barons, their rising in Armes, their taking and murdering *Pierce Gaveston*, &c. Whereunto with one accord they answer: how they had not offended therein, but rather merited his love and favour, having taken Armes not for any contempt of his royall person, but to destroy the publike enemy of the Kingdome, banished before by the consent of two Kings: a man by whom his fame and honour was most highly disparaged; his substance, and that of the Kingdome wasted, and a most dangerous dissention betweene him and his Subjects raised. Whereof otherwise with all their labour and travell they could never have had an end. Besides they tell him plainly, they would now no longer attend vaine promises, nor be deluded with delays, as they had hitherto bene concerning their required Articles. Which stout resolution of theirs, the *Queene* with the Prelates, and the Earle of *Glocester* seeing, they seeke by all perswasions to quallifie their heate, and at length so farre prevailed with them and their confederates in open Parliament, to humble themselves to the King, and to crave pardon for what they had done, which they obtayned, and the King receives them into grace, as his loyall Subjects, grants them their Articles, and particular pardons by his Charter, for their indemnity concerning the death of *Gaveston*. And for this the State upon his great wants granted him a Fifteenth. *Guy de Beaucham* Earle of *Warwicke* is here appointed to be one of the Kings Councell, who being a man much envied by such as possesse the King, shortly after dies, not without suspicion of poyson.

Whilst the State of *England* stood thus diseased at home, through the infirmity of a weake Head, that of *Scotland* grew strong by the providence of a vigilant King, who had not onely overcome the *Scottish* faction, and recovered the most of his owne Country, but also made spoyles on this, wasting all *Northumberland* in such sort, as King *Edward* wakened with the out-cries of his people, and the great dishonour of the Kingdome, is drawne to take Armes for redresse thereof, and enters *Scotland* with the greatest Army that ever yet went thither, consisting as the *Scottish* writers report, of 100. thousand men, whereof were great numbers of *Flemings*, *Gascoines*, *Welsh* and *Irish*, who in imagination had devoured the Country before they came thither,

ther, and thought not of Battailles but of deviding the prey. Besides, the King had with him most of the Nobilitie, and especiall men of England, except *Thomas Earle of Lancaster*, the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Warreim* and *Arundell*, who refused to goe, for the King protracted the execution of the foresaid Articles.

The Castle of *Sterling* is the peece that is to be releaved, which chiefly now held out, defended by *Phillip Mowbray* a valiant Knight, who seeing the daily successe of *Bruce*, had manned and victualed the same for many moneths. Neere to this place upon the River *Bannocke* is incountred this great Army of England by *Bruce*, with thirty thousand *Scots*, a small number say their Writers, in respect of their enemies: but as men hardned with daily use of Warre and Domesticall evils, fierce and resolute, carrying all their hopes in their hands, of life, estate, and whatsoever was deare unto them. The advantage of the ground was theirs, having behinde unaccessable Rockes to defend them, before a Moorish uncertaine ground wherein they digged trenches, which they pitched full of sharpe stakes, and covered them over with hurdles, so that the footemen might passe over safely without impediment, but it so confounded the horse, as it gave the *Scots* the day, and the greatest overthrow to England that ever it received. There perished in this Battaille (called of *Bannocks Borough*) *Gilbert* the last *Clare Earle of Gloucester*, a maine Arch of the State of England, and *Robert Lord Clifford* the Noblest of our Barons, with the Lord *Tipstoft*, the Lord *Marshall*, the Lord *Giles de Armenton*, the Lord *Edmond de Mault*, and 700. Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen of sort: of common souldiers, theirs say fifty thousand, ours ten: taken prisoners, *Humphrey Bohun Earle of Hereford*, *Ralph de Mortelmeire* (who married *Joan de Acres*, Countesse Dowager of *Glocester*) with many others: the King and those who were preserved escaped by flight.

This defeit put *Scotland* both into Armes and Wealth, so that they held their owne the better for a long time after, and discouraged so much this Kingdom for many yeares, as it wrought not (though it often attempted) any great revenge. King *Edward* upon his coming backe to *York*, shewed a great desire to repaire this dishonour, but nothing was done; his people grew colde, home they returne, and sit downe by their losse. The poore Borderers have the worst of it, and become so dejected as 100. of them would flye from three *Scots*, saith *Walsingham*. To such a suddaine faintnesse are the inferiours brought, when the nobler parts of a State, which should give them spirit, are ill affected.

This distaster (a mischief never comes alone) was attended with inundations, which brought forth Dearth; Dearth Famine; Famine Pestilence, all which exceeded any that ever before had beene knowne. A Parliament is called at *London* upon the beginning of this Dearth to abate the prices of Victualls, which suddainly grew to be excessive; And therefore it was ordained, that an Oxe fatted with grasse should be sold for fifteene shillings, fatted with Corne for twenty shillings, the best Cow for twelve shillings, a fat Hogge of two yeares old three shillings foure pence, a fat Sheepe shorne, foureteene pence, with the fleece twenty pence, a fat Goose for two pence halfe penny, a fat Capon two pence, a fat Hen a penny, foure Pygeons a penny, whosoever sold above should forfeit their ware to the King. Heere seemes then to have beene no Calves, Lambes, Goslings, Chickings, young Pigees to be sold, those dainties were not in use.

After these rates imposed, all kind of Victualls grew more scarce than be-

The Battell of Bannocks Borough.

The defeit of the English.

A Parliament at London.

1315.

Anno Reg. 8.

Rates for Victualls.

A Dearth  
which lasted  
3. yeares.

1317.  
*Anno*  
*Reg.* 10

The Wife of  
the Earle of  
*Lancaster* ta-  
ken out of his  
house at *Can-*  
*ford*.

The King ad-  
vertised of his  
erroits.

The miserable  
affliction of  
the Borderers.

A reconcilia-  
tion betweene  
the King and  
the Nobles.  
And new oc-  
casion of trou-  
ble.

fore, and such a Murren followed of all kind of Cattell, with a generall falling of all fruites of the earth, by the excessive raines and unseasonable weather, as proviſion could not be had for the Kings house, nor meanes for other great men to maintaine their Tables (such a iust punishment had excesſe and ryot inflicted thereon in those dayes) in so much as men put away their servants in great numbers, who having beene daintily bred, and now not able to work, learning to beg, fell to robbery and spoyle, which addes more misery to the Kingdome. Three yeares this affliction held, and was attended with so great a Pestilence and generall sicknesse of the common sort, caused by the ill nutriment they received, as the living scarce sufficed to bury the dead.

Notwithstanding could all this extinguish the rancour betweene the King and his Nobles, but daily one mischiefe or other brake out, to hold in and increase the same. The wife of *Thomas Earle of Lancaster* is taken out of his house at *Canford* in *Dorset-shire*, by one *Richard Saint-Martin*, a deformed Dwarfſe (as hee is described) a follower of the Earle *Warren*: Clayming her for his Wife, and avowing how hee had layne with her before shee was married to the Earle, which the Lady herselfe to her perpetuall ignominy, and the shame of honour, voluntarily averred. This base creature claymes by her the Earledomes of *Lincolne* and *Salisbury*, whereunto shee was Heire: which without being supported by great Abbettors, hee would never have presumed to attempt. The King is noted an Actor herein, which being in so tender, and reserved a businesse as marriage, added much to his other violations of order; and gave occasion and hardinesse to inferiour persons to reprove his courses as may be noted by this passage. Being at the Celebration of the feast of *Pentecost* at dinner in the open Hall at *Westminster*, a woman fantastically disguised enters on Horse-backe, and ryding about the Table delivers him a Letter, wherein was signified the great neglect he had of such as had done him, and his Father noble services, taxing him for advancing men of unworthy parts, &c. which Letter read, and the woman departed, put the King into a great rage. They who guarded the doore being sharply reprehended for suffering her to enter in that manner, excused themselves, alleadging, it not to be the fashion of the Kings house in times of Festivals, to keepe out any which came in that manner, as they thought to make sport. Search being made for this Woman, shee is found and examined who set her on. Shee confessed a Knight gave her mony to doe as shee did. The Knight is found, and upon examination boldly confessed, hee did it for the Kings honour and to none other end, and escapes without any further adoe.

Thus while the North parts were not onely infested with the *Scots*, but likewise by such of the English as under colour of using ayde for resistance, robbed and spoyled all where they came, to the miserable undoing of the people. Besides, *Robert Bruce* now absolute King of *Scots*, sends his brother *Edward* with a mighty power into *Ireland*, whereof he got a great part, and the Title of a King, which he held three yeares. Thus all things went ill, as evermore it doth in dissolute and dissentious times wherein the publicke is alway neglected.

But these mischiefs abroad was the occasion that a reconciliation between the King and the Earle of *Lancaster*, is made by the mediation of two Cardinals upon such conditions as were soone after unjustly broken by the King. A Knight is taken passing by *Pomfret* with Letters sealed with the Kings *Seale*, directed to the King of *Scots* about murdering the Earle, which

Messenger



## The Life and Reigne of Edward the second.

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Messenger is executed, his head is set upon the top of the Castle, and the Letters refer ved to witness the intended plot. Which whether it were fayned or not, the report thereof cast an aspersion upon the King, and won many to take part with the Earle. After this, upon an invasion of the *Scots* forraging as farre as *Torke*, a Parliament is assembled at *London*, wherein againe the King by the working of the Cardinall, and Clergy of *England*, yeeldes, faithfully to observe all the former required Articles. Whereupon an ayde is granted him of Armed men to goe against the *Scots*. *London* sets forth 200. *Canterbury* 40. *Saint Albans* 10. and so of all Cities and Boroughs according to their proportion, whereby a great Army was leaved. Which comming to *Torke*; through mutiny, emulation, and other impediments was dissolved, and turned backe without effecting any thing.

The next yeare after upon the rendring up of *Bermicke* to the *Scots* by the Treason of *Peter Spalding* who had the custody thereof, the King of *England* rayses an Army and beleaguers it: the *Scots* to divert his forces, enters upon *England*, by other wayes, and were like to have surprised the Person of the Queene, lying neere *Torke*. The siege notwithstanding is eagerly continued, and the King in great possibility to have regayned the Towne, had not the Earle of *Lancaster* with Followers with-drawne himselfe upon discontent, hearing the King say, how he would give the keeping thereof to the Lord *Hugh Spencer* the yonger, who was now growne an especiall Minion (the successer both of the Office, and private favour of *Gascon*) and therefore not to be indured by the Earle.

Those of *Torke* and the Country adjacent, having receyved inestimable damages by the *Scots*, collect an Army of 10000. men, and encounter them at *Milton on swayle*: but being not well led, nor experienced, they receyved the defeite, with the losse of 3000. men. Whereof the King being certified and seeing all things to succcede ill with him, concludes a Truce with the *Scots* for two yeares, and againe returns with dishonour from those parts. In the time of this peace, a great flame arises from a small sparke, and tooke beginning upon this occasion. A Baron named *William Brewes*, having in his yecentious age, wasted his estate, offers to sell unto divers men a part of his inheritance called *Powes*. *Humphrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, in regard the Land lay neere his, obtaines leave of the King to buy it, and bargaines for the same. The two *Roger Mortimers*, Uncle and Nephew great men likewise in those parts, not understanding it seemes any thing of the former bargain, contract also for the same land, with the sayd *Sir William Brewes*. *Hugh Spencer* the yonger hearing of this sale, and the Land adjoyning to part of his, obtaines a more especiall leave of the King, being now his Chamberlaine, and buyes it out of all their hands.

The Earle of *Hereford* complains himselfe to the Earle of *Lancaster* (the refuge of all discontented men) who at *Sherborne* enters into a Confederation with divers Barons there Assembled, taking their oathes interminually to live and dye together, in maintayning the right of the Kingdome, and to procure the Banishment of the two *Spencers* Father, and Sonne, whom they now held to be the great seducers of the King and oppressours of the State, disposing of all things in Court at their Will, and suffering nothing to be obtayned but by their meanes. Which the State accounted a mischief most intollerable and grievous unto them, seeing all graces and dispatches were to passe out but at one doore, whereby the Kings benignity and power is diminished, the Kingdome dishonoured, all corruptions introduced to the over-throw of Justice and good order.

1318.

Anno

Reg. 11.

A Parliament at London.

1319.

Anno

Reg. 12.

The Lord *Hugh Spencer* the yonger succeeded *Gascon* in the Office of Lord Chamberlayne.

1321.

Anno

Reg. 14

Another occasion of revok.

The Lords oppose the *Spencers*.

And take Armes.

And

The King ex-  
cuses the  
Spencers,  
Denies the  
Lords their  
demands.

The Lords  
come armed  
to London.  
The King  
yeelds unto  
them.  
The Earle of  
Hereford pub-  
lishes the  
Kings Edict in  
Westminster  
Hall.  
The occasion  
of the Queens  
displeasure  
with the  
Lords.  
Shee is deny-  
ed lodging in  
the Castle of  
Leedes.  
The King  
takes the Ca-  
stle of Leedes.  
Grows  
strong.

And under this pretence they take Armes, wherein themselves proceede not in that even way of right as they made shew, but follow the fury of their wills, being once out and astray, they seize upon, and make spoyle of the Lands and goods of those persons they prosecuted, and all such as had friendship and affinity with them, killing their servants and disposing their Castles at their pleasure. And coming armed thus to S. Albans they send to their King, residing then at London, the Bishops of London, Salisbury, Hereford & Chichester (who were there assembled to consult for peace) requiring him as he tendered the quiet of the Realme to rid his Court of those Traytors the Spencers condemned in many Articles of high Treason, by the Communality of the land, and withall to grant his Letters Patents of Pardon and Indemnity both to them, and all such tooke part with them, and that for no offences past or present they should hereafter be punished. The King returns answer, That Hugh Spences the Father was now beyond the Seas employed in his businesse, and the sonne was guarding the Cinq-Ports according to his Office, and that it was against Law and Custome, they should be banished without being heard. Moreover that their request was voyde of Iustice and Reason, for that the sayd Spencers were ever ready to answer to all complaints made against them, according to the forme of Law, and if the L. L. could prove they had offended the Statutes of the Realme, they were willing to submit themselves to the triall thereof. And besides swore he would never violate the Oath made at his Coronation, by granting letters of Pardons to such notorious offenders who contemned his person, disturbed the Kingdome, and violated the Royall Majesty. Which answer so exasperated the Lords as presently they approached to London, and lodged in the suburbs, till they obtayned leave of the King to enter into the City: Where they peremptorily urge their demands, which at length by mediation of the Queene, and the chiefe Prelates, the King is wrought to condescend unto, and by his Edict published in Westminster Hall by the Earle of Hereford, are the Spencers banished the Kingdome, Hugh the Father keepes beyond the Seas, but the sonne secretly hides himselfe in England expecting the turne of a better season. The Lords (having this obtained their desire with the Kings Letters of impunity) depart home, but yet not with such security, as they gave over the provision for their owne defence.

Shortly after, there fell out an unexpected accident that suddainely wrought their confusion. The Queene who had ever beene the Nurse of peace, and laboured to accord the King and his Barons, making her Progresse towards Canterbury, was disposed to lodge in the Castle of Leedes, appertayning to the Lord Badlesmere (who had beene long the Kings Steward, but lately tooke part with the Barons) and sending her Marshall to make ready for her and her trayne, they who kept the Castle told him plainly, that neyther she Queene, or any else should enter there, without Letters from their Lord. The Queene herselfe goes to the Castle, and receives the like answer, whereupon shee is driven to take such lodging otherwise as could bee provided. Of which indignity shee complains to the King, who tooke it so to heart, as presently with a power of Armed men out of London, he layes siege to the Castle, takes it, hangs the keeper, Thomas Culpeper, sends the Wife and Children of the Lord Badlesmere to the Tower, and seizes upon all his goods and Treasure. And having this power about him, and warmed with successe and the instigation of the Queene, suddainly directs his course to Chichester where he keepes his Christmas, and there provides for an Army against the Barons, whereof many (seeing the Kings power encreasing) left their associates and yeeld themselves to his mercy, amongst whom were the two Roger Morti-

mers, men of great might and meanes, the Lord *Hugh Andeley*, the Lord *Maurice Barkley*, and others, who notwithstanding, contrary to their expectation, were sent to divers Prisons. The Earles of *Lancaster* and *Hereford* seeing this suddaine change, withdrew themselves and their Companies from about *Glocester* towards the North parts. The King follows them with his Army, wherein were the Earles of *Ashol* and *Angus*, and at *Burton upon Trent*, where they had made head, discomfited their Forces and put them all to flight. Whereupon seeking to escape they retire further North, and at *Borough Briggs* are encountred by Sir *Simon Ward* Shrieve of *York*, & Sir *Andrew Harkley* Constable of *Carlisle*, who (after the Earle of *Hereford* was slaine in striving to passe the Bridge) tooke the Earle of *Lancaster*, with divers other Lords, and brought them to *Pomfret*, where the third day after, the King sitting himselfe in judgement with *Edmond* Earle of *Kent* his brother, the Earle of *Pembrooke*, the Earle *Warreim*, *Hugh Spencer* lately created Earle of *Winchester* and others, sentence of death is given against *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster*, by drawing, hanging and beheading as a Traytor. The two first punishments are pardoned in regard he was of the Royall blood, and onely beheaded hee was the same day without the Towne of *Pomfret* before his owne Castle. And by the like judgement were Condemned, the Lord *Roger Cliford*, the Lord *Warreim Lisle*, the Lord *William Tychet*, *Thomas Mandis*, *Henry Bradburne*, *William Fitz-Williams*, *William Lord Cheyny*, *Thomas Lord Mowbray*, *Ioseline Lord Danyll*, all which were executed at *Torke*. Shortly after the Lord *Henry Teyes* is taken, drawne, hanged and quartered at *London*, the Lord *Aldenham* at *Windsor*, the Lords *Badlesmere* and *Asburnham* at *Canterbury*, the Lord *Gifford* at *Glocester*; principall men in principall places, to spread the more terrour over the Kingdome. All their estates and inheritances are Confiscated, and many new men advanced by the same. And this is the first blood of Nobility, that ever was shed in this manner in *England*, since *William* the first, which being such, and so much as it was, opened veynes for more to follow, and procured a most hideous revenge, which shortly after ensued. Thus is the beame of power turned, and Regality (now in the heavier scale) weighes downe all.

And presently upon this Master-worke, the King both to busie the mindes of his people, and to keepe their hands doing whilest the terrour thereof lasted, marches from *Torke* with a mighty host (but small provisions) into *Scotland*. Where the *Scots* conveying themselves and all succours out of his way, put that want upon him, as confounded his great Army without blowes, forcing him to returne with much dishonour: And having passed farre within his owne Country, they assailed him at unawares; and had like to have taken his Person, as well as they did his Treasurie, with the Earle of *Richmond* (with whom having miserably ransackt all the Countrey over, even to the Walles of *Torke*) they returne loaden with mighty spoyle safe into *Scotland*; and this was the successe of this Vnfortunate King (not borne for Tryumphes) in his third Scottish expedition.

And now being at leisure, in a calmer humour it seemes, he began to have a sence of the Execution of the Earle of *Lancaster*, which hee discovers upon this occasion. Some about him making earnest suite to grant a pardon to one of the Earles Followers (a man of meane estate) and pressing him hard thereunto, he falls into a great passion, exclaiming against them as unjust and wicked Councellors, which would urge him so to save the life of a most notorious Varlet, and would not speake one word for his neere kinsman the Earle of *Lancaster*: Who sayd he, had hee lived might have bene usefull to mee  
and

The Lords withdraw into the North parts and are overthrowne.

The execution of the Earle of *Lancaster*, with divers other Lords in divers places.

The first of any Earle or Baron of *England* that ever was executed upon Scaffolds, or otherwise, since the time of *William* the first. The Kings all successe in *Scotland*.

1323

Anno  
Reg. 16



The Earle of  
Carleil degra-  
ded and execu-  
ted.

1324.  
Anno  
Reg. 17  
A Parliament

The king is  
denied a Sub-  
sidie.

The Bishop of  
Hereford accu-  
sed of treason.  
He refused to  
answer.

The Bishop is  
taken from the  
barre.

The Bishop  
being absent is  
condemned *ex  
Officio*.  
The presump-  
tion of the  
*Spencers*.

The Earle of  
Kent sent into  
*Gascogne*.

and the whole Kingdome; but this fellow, the longer hee lives the more mischiefe he will commit, and therefore by the Soule of God, he should dye the death he had deserved. Sir *Andrew Harekley* who was the man which tooke Prisoner the Earle of *Lancaster* at *Burrough Briggis*, being advanced for his service to the Earldome of *Carleil*, enjoyed his honour but a while: For the next yeare after, eyther thrust out into discontent, by the *Spencers* envying his high preferment, or combyning with the *Scots*, allured with the hope of a great Match (as hee was accused) is degraded of all his honours, drawne, hanged and quartered at *London* for Treason, and remains amongst the examples of suddaine downe falls from high places, under an inconstant and ill governing Prince.

Occasion drew on a Parliament to consult, amongst other important businesses concerning the Sommons lately sent to King *Edward*, from the new King of *France Charles le Bell* (who succeeded his brother *Phillip de Long*) to come and doe his homage for *Gascogne*, and it was by the common consent of all decreed that the King should not goe in person at that time, but send some speciall men to excuse or deferre his appearance.

Besides in this Parliament, the King required a Subsidie both of the Clergie and Laiety, for the redemption of *John Brittain* Earle of *Richmond*, lately taken prisoner by the *Scots*. But it was denyed, and alledged that no contribution ought of right to bee made but for the redemption of the King, the Queene or Prince, and so nothing was there gotten but more displeasure. The Bishop of *Hereford* was arrested, and accused of high Treason before the King & his Councell for ayding the Kings enemies in their late rebellion, but he refused to answer (being a consecrated Bishop) without leave of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, whose suffragan he was (and who he sayd was his direct Iudge next the Pope) or without the consent of the rest of his fellow Bishops, who then all arose and humbly craved the Kings Clemencie in his behalfe; but finding him implacable, they tooke away their fellow Bishop from the Barre, and delivered him to the custody of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, till some other time the King should appoint for his answer to what hee was charged withall. Shortly after he was againe taken and convented as before, which the Cleargy understanding, the Archbishops, *Canterbury*, *Torke*, and *Dublin*, with ten other Bishops, all which with their Crosses erected went to the place of Iudgement, and againe tooke him away with them, charging all men upon paine of Excommunication to forbear to lay violent hands on him, with which audacious act, the King was much displeased, and presently commanded inquiry to be made *ex officio Iudicis*, concerning those objections against the Bishop, wherein he was found guilty, though absent, and had all his goods and possessions seised into the Kings hands.

This act lost him the Clergy, and added power to the discontented party, which was now growne to be all in generall, except the *Spencers* and their followers, who inriched with the spoyles of the Barons, governed all at their pleasure, selling the Kings favour and shutting him up from any others, but where they pleased to shew him: and in this violence which knowes no bounds, they presume to abridge the Queene of her maintenance, and lessened her household traine, which was the rocke whereon they perished.

The proceeding of the King of *France* against the King of *England* for the omission of his Homage, was growne so farre, as that all his territories there were adjudged to be forfeited, and many places of importance seised on by the *French*, whereupon *Edmond* Earle of *Kent* the Kings brother is sent into *Gascogne*, but to little effect, the King of *France* was before hand, his power

ready

ready and his people in those parts yeelding that way where they saw most force. So that, cyther the King of England must goe in person to appeale this trouble, or send his Queene to her brother to mediate an accord, otherwise all was there in danger to be lost. For the Kings going in person, the *Spencers* held it unsafe both for him and them, if hee should leave his Kingdom at home in so great, and generall discontents as then it was. Wherefore the Queen with a small traine is sent over to accommodate the businesse, which she negotiates so well, as all quarrells should be ended upon condition the King of England would give to his sonne *Edward* the Dutchie of *Aquitaine* with the Earledome of *Ponthieu*, and send him over to doe him Homage for the same, which after many consultations the King is wrought to yeeld unto.

The Queene is sent to accommodate the businesse of France.

The Prince is sent with the Bishop of *Excester* and others, to the Court of the King of France, where he was most welcome to his Mother, who here-in had her desire, and being wholly bent to revenge (whereof none are sayd to be more eager then women) found there, besides her great party in England, those who nourished that humour in her, amongst whom was chiefe *Roger Mortimer* Lord of *Wigmore*, lately escaped out of the Tower of London, a gallant young Gentleman whom shee especially favoured. The Bishop of *Excester* perceiving some plots to be in hand, and their close consultations made without him, withdrawes secretly from thence, and discovers to the King so much as he observed of their courses. The King sends presently for the Queene and Prince, soliciting withall, the King of France to hasten their returne, which when he saw was neglected and delayed, hee caused them openly to be proclaimed enemies to the Kingdome, banished them and all their adherents out of the Land: and withall causes all the Ports to bee strongly kept, and sends three Admirals to attend on severall Coasts to oppose their landing.

The Prince is sent to doe his homage for the Duchy of Aquitaine.

The Bishop of Excester discovers the Queens plots. The Queene proclaimed enemy to the Kingdome.

The Queene to inflame her the more, is informed of a plot layd to murder her and the Prince: and either doubting how much the money of England might worke in those should be tempted therewith, or else finding little forwardnesse in her brother to ayde or countenance her course against her husband, withdrawes to the Earle of *Haynault* being then a Prince of great meanes, and likewise the Earle of *Holland*, to whose daughter *Phillippa* shee contracts her sotine the Prince, and gets ayde and mony of him to transport her into England. Arriving at *Harwich* with the Prince, the Earle of *Kent* the Kings brother (whom shee brought with her from the Court of France) the Earle of *Pembrooke*, the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, and *John* brother to the Earle of *Haynault* with 2500. *Hennaways* and *Flemings*, shee was received with great joy and concourse of all the discontented Nobility and others: and especially by the Bishop of *Hereford* and *Lincolne*, who soone resorted unto her, as men who had lost, to recover their fortunes.

The Queene returns with forces.

The King upon notice of this sudden and safe arrivall of the Queene, demands ayde of the City of London, which returns answer, That they would with all duty honour the King, Queene and Prince, but their gates they would shut against all forreiners and traitors to the Realme, and with all their power withstand them. The King with his small Councell about him, reposing no assurance in this answer (after Proclamation made that none, upon paine of death should ayde the Queene, and commandement given to destroy all her adherents, onely her owne Person, the Prince, and his brother the Earle of *Kent* excepted, and that whosoever brought the head of *Roger Mortimer* should have 1000. pounds) hee leaves the City, committing the keeping of the Tower

1326  
Anno  
Reg. 19  
The King demands ayde of the City of London.

The King de-  
parts towards  
the West.  
The Queene  
followes.

2 Kings 24.

The Queenes  
Proclamation

The King be-  
takes him to  
the Sea.

Hugh Spencer  
the Father  
hanged at  
Bristol.

Tower to Sir *John Wenston* with the gard of his yonger sonne *John of Elsham*, and his Neece the Countesse of *Glocester* (first wife to *Pierce Gaveston*, now of *Hugh Spencer* the yonger: a Lady unfortunate by the over great fortunes of both her husbands) and departs towards the West, hoping to finde ayde in those parts as formerly he had done against the Barons, but he saw the world was altered, and no man there to regard him.

The Queene advertised of his course, marched after him (growing daily greater as she marched) and comes to *Oxford*, where the Bishop of *Hereford* preached before her and the whole assembly, and delivers the cause of her proceeding, taking for his Text, *My head akesh, My head akesh*: and concludes most undivinely, that an aking and sicke head of a Kingdome, was of necessity to be taken off, and not other wise to be cured. A most execrable Doctrine, and repugnant to the sacred Word, which in all corrupted times is evermore produced, to abuse mens *Credulity* and iustifie *Impiety* in whatsoever *Ambition* or *Malice* shall attempt: a sinne beyond all other that can be committed upon earth. And the more to countenance the Queenes proceeding, it was notified two Cardinals were seene in her Campe, sent by the Pope to Excommunicate such as tooke Armes against her, and the cause of hers to be for the delivering the Kingdome from the misleaders of the King, the *Spencers*, the Lord Chancellour, and their adherents, all others to be safe. And here Proclamation is made, *That nothing should be taken from any subject without paying ready money*, and a penalty imposed on whomsoever did the contrary, as for the value of three pence to loose a finger, six pence the hand, twelve pence the head, and that whosoever brought to the Queene the younger *Spencers* head should have 2000. pounds. Thus is a bad cause defended with shew of Iustice, and an unnaturall presumption made to seeme right by power and Authority: An impotent Woman led with passion, and abused by wicked Councell, is brought to make head against her owne head, to conduct an innocent sonne against the Father, to undertake an action she knew not how to manage, and to put her selfe into their hands, who having other ends than hers, would worke beyond, though under her authority, what pleased themselves. And though the event (as commonly it doth in such attempts) proove worse than the intention of the undertaker; yet howsoever, the infamy of all what was acted, lyes foule and open upon her Memory, and no Apology extant any way to cover it, and therefore we must leave the same as wee finde it. And better had it beene for the honour of the state of *England* to have beene without her great Dowry, than to have had her example, the worth of a Queene, it ever yet had. The miserable King having his reputation (the maine support of Majesty) blowne up with the hurle-winde of his pursuers, found few or no hands to ayde him: So that, after he had put *Hugh Spencer* the Father into the Castle of *Bristol*, with what defence could be provided for the guarding thereof; he leaves to trust the Land, and commits himselfe to a more unfaithfull element, the Sea, with purpose eyther to hide himselfe a while in the Isle of *Lundy*, or to passe over into *Ireland*; but tost too and fro with contrary Winds (after Sir *Thomas Blunt* his Steward with others were shrunke from him) he lands in *Wales* in *Glamorgan* shire; where, though hee found not safety, he found love and was hidden in the Abbey of *Nerb*.

The Queene with her Army from *Oxford* goes to *Glocester*, where the Lords *Piercy* and *Wake*, with ayde from the North, met her; and thence to *Bristol*: assailes & wins the Castle; puts to death the defender *Hugh Spencer*, Earle of *Winchester*, without forme or tryall of Law: causing him to bee drawne and hanged on the common Gallowes in his Coate of armour, cut up before hee

was



was dead, headed and quartered. This done, shee passes to *Hereford*, and the King being not to be found, Proclamation is made, that if he would returne and conforme himselfe to rule the State as he ought to doe, he should come and receive the government thereof, by the generall consent of his people. But he, either not daring (as destitute both of courage and counsell) to trust to this offer, or not well informed thereof, keepes himselfe still concealed. Whereupon (as may seeme was intended) advantage is taken to dispose of the government, and the Prince who is now under their guard, is made Guardian of the kingdome, hath Fealty sworn unto him, and a new Chancellor and Treasurer are appointed.

Long it was not ere the King came to be discovered, as a person too great for any cover, and was by *Henry Earle of Lancaster*, brother to the late *Thomas, William Lord Zouch*, and *Ries ap Howell* taken & conveyed to the Castle of *Kenelworth*. The younger *Spencer* with *Baldock* the Chancellour, and *Simon Reading* apprehended with him, are sent to the Queene to *Hereford*. *Spencer* (who was now Earle of *Glocester*) is drawne and hanged on a Gallows fifty foote high (wherein he was exalted above his Father, otherwise had the like execution) & likewise in his Coate-armor, whereon was written, *Quid gloriari in malitia, Psal. 52.* *Simon Reading* was hanged ten foote lower than he: But *Baldock* in regard he was a Priest, had the favour to be pined to death in *Newgate*. And here likewise a litle before was the Earle of *Arundel* with two Barons, *John Danyll*, and *Thomas Micheldener* executed as Traytors by the procurement of *Roger Mortimer*, for adhering to the Kings part.

To accompany these mischiefes of the Countrey, the Commons of *London* made insurrection, and force their Maior, who held for the King, to take their part, let out all prisoners, possesse them of the Towre, put to death the Constable thereof, *Sir John Weston*, murder the Bishop of *Exeter*, to whom they bare an especiall hatred, for that being the Kings Treasurer, hee caused the Iustices Itinerants to sit in *London*, by whom they were grievously fined; and thus all is let out to liberty and confusion.

After a moneths stay at *Hereford*, the Queene with her sonne returning, kept Christmas at *Wallingford*, their Candlemas at *London*, where the Parliament being assembled, agreed to depose the King, as unfit to governe (objecting many Articles against him) and to elect his eldest son *Edward*: Which they did in the great Hall at *Westminster*, with the universall consent of the people there present, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* makes a Sermon upon this Text, *Vox populi, vox Dei*, exhorting the people to invoke the King of Kings for him they had there chosen.

The Queene, either out of the consideration of the difference of a husband and a sonne, (whom now shee was not like long to guide) or through remorse of conscience, looking back upon what shee had done, takes the election grievously to heart, inso much as her sonne to re-comfort her, swore hee would never accept of the Crowne without the consent of his Father; whereupon by a common decree, three Bishops, two Earles, two Abbots, foure Barons, three Knights of every Shire, with a certaine number of Burgeses of every City and Borough, and especially of the Cinque-ports, are sent to the imprisoned King at *Kenelworth*, to declare unto him the election of his sonne, and to require the renunciation of his Crowne and Royall dignity; whereunto if hee would not consent, the State was resolved to proceede as it thought good. The King being first privately made acquainted with the Message (the most harsh to Nature that could bee imparted) and by two, whom he especially hated (for having especially offend-

The King taken prisoner.

A Parliament at London where the Prince is elected King.

1327.  
Anno  
Reg. 20

The King is brought to resigne his Crowne.

The forme of his resignation.

His Issue.

1327.  
Anno  
Reg. 1.

The Queene hath her joynture enlarged Twelve especiall men chosen for the government.

did them) the Bishops of *Hertford* and *Lincolne* were brought before the Assembly; to whom as soone as his passion (wherewith hee was overcharged would give him leave) hee confessed, *How hee had bene misguided (the common excuse of a poore spirit) and done many things whereof now he repented, which if he were to governe againe, he would become a new man, and was most sorrowfull to have so much offended the State, as it should thus utterly reject him;* but yet gave them thanks that they were so gracious unto him, as to elect his eldest sonne for King; having spoken to this purpose, they proceed to the Ceremony of his resignation (which chiefly consisted in the surrender of his Crowne) for the forme whereof, being the first that ever was seene in *England*, they could follow no precedent but must make one, and *William Trussell* a Iudge put it into the Stile of Law, to render it the more authenticall, and pronounced the same in this manner: *I William Trussell in the name of all men of the Land of England, and of all the Parliament Procurator, resigne to thee Edward the Homage that was made to thee sometime, and from this time forwards now following, I desie thee and prive thee of all my royall power, and I shall never bee tendant on thee as King after this time.* This was the last act and the first example of a deposed King, no lesse dishonourable to the State than to him. Hee was a Prince more weake than evill, and those exorbitances of his metie with as great or greater in his people, who, as we see, dealt over roughly and uncivilly with him. Hee is reported by some to have bene learned (which perhaps might make him the softer) to have written Verses when he was in prison; to have Founded *Oriall Colledge*, and *SUMERY Hall* in *Oxford*.

Hee had by his Wife *Isabell* two sons, *Edward* borne at *Windfor*, who succeeded him; and *John* surnamed of *Eltham*, who was created Earle of *Cornwall*, *An. 1315*, and dyed in the flowre of his youth in *Scotland*. And also two Daughters, *Ioane* married to *David* Prince of *Scotland*; and *Eliouer* to the Duke of *Gelders*.

The end of the Life and Reigne of Edward the second.

### The Life and Reigne of Edward the third.



Upon the resignation of *Edward* the second: *Edward* his sonne of the age of fourteene yeares, began his Reigne the twentieth of *January* 1327, and sends forth Proclamations of his Peace into all Shires, in this forme: *Edward by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitaine, &c.* our Sherife of *S. greving*. Whereas the Lord *Edward*, late King of *England* our Father, by the Common Conneell and assent of the Prelates, Earles, Barons, and other Chiefe men, with the whole Communalty of this Reulme, did voluntarily undoove himselfe from the Government thereof, willing and granting that Wee as his eldest Sonne and Heire, should assume the same, &c. Which Proclamation made to palliate a wrong, did but the more discover it. Within five dayes after hee was crowned at *Westminster* by *Walter* Archbishop of *Canterbury*: At which solemnity the Queene made shew of great sorrow and heavinesse, but beeing after pacified by the enlargement of her Ioynture (which tooke up three parts of the Kings Revenues) shee beganne to bee of better cheere. Twelve especiall men are heere appointed to manage the affaires of the Kingdome, till the King were of fit yeares to governe of himselfe: The Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Hertford*, and *Worcester*, *Thomas Bro.*

sherton

sherton Earle Marshall, Edmond Earle of Kent, John Earle Warkein, Thomas Lord Wake, Henry Lord Piercy, Oliver Lord Ingham, and John Lord Rose; but the Queene and Roger Lord Mortimer usurped this charge, and tooke all wholly to themselves. And to busie the present and uphold this *Change*, an expedition instantly is undertaken for *Scotland*, wherein (those strangers still retained which the Queene brought over with her) are employed under the conduct of the Lord John Beaumont brother to the Earle of Hainault, and at *Torke* the whole Army were to meete, where the *English* (being not all of a party) quarrell with those strangers, and so great a conflict arose betweene them as cost some blood, and was hardly appeased, an ill presage of that journey.

An expedition into Scotland.

At *Stanhop Parke* the *English* Army encounter the *Scottish*, and though the *English* were thrice greater, and might presently have vanquished them, yet by the treason of some great men (as it was bruited) they escaped all away, and nothing was done, so that the young King borne for victories, was deprived the honour of his first action, which yet, being not conducted by his owne spirit, was held more dishonourable to others than to him. Vpon their returne, all the *Hannowayes* and Stipendiaries are sent home into their owne Countries.

The Scots retire from Stanhop Parke, and nothing done.

During this businesse, the deposed King remains prisoner at *Killingworth*, with the allowance of a hundreth Markes a moneth for his expences, deprived of all those comforts the world should yeeld him. His wife whom hee loved (though now the Author of all his misery) sends unto him letters and apparell, but excuses her coming as being not permitted by the State: Neither was he thought safe enough where he was, nor so straitly lookt unto as they desired to have him, being in the custody of his Vncle the Earle of *Lancaster*; and therefore they commit him to other Guardians, and men of the most rough natures could bee found, the Lord *Matreweys* and *Thomas Gourney*, who from thence removed him to the Castle of *Berckley* in *Glocester-shire*, where long hee staid not, but was conveyed to *Corfe Castle*, and thence to other places up and downe to beguile and disappoint his friends, by the uncertainty of his being, if any plot were laid (which they doubted) to restore him. Besides, to disguise him the more, and that he might not be easily known, they shave his head & beard, which as a servant of his Sir *Thomas de la More*, a Knight of *Glocester-shire* reports (who wrote his life) was done in the open fields, by the commandement of *Gourney*, who most barbarously caused the miserable King to sit on a Mole-hill whilest the Barber shaved him, and to take cold water out of a ditch to wash him withall, which the patient King (saith this Reporter) seeing, told them, *That in despite of them he would have warme water at his Barbing*, and therewithall shed abundance of teares. Other vile reproaches this savage Taylor put upon his annoynted Sovereigne, as he re-conveyed him back to *Berckley Castle*, where shortly after he and *Matreweys* caused him to be murdered in a most hideous manner, by thrusting up a hot Iron into his bowels through an hollow instrument, whereby no outward note might appeare to bewray how he came by his death: For the body being after laid forth, and viewed by many substantiall Citizens of *Bristol* and *Glocester* (called thither for that purpose) they could finde no signe either of wound or poyson, so that their evidence confirmed the report that was given out, how he died of extreame griefe. This was the end of *Edward* the second, within eight moneths after his deposing.

The miserable state of the imprisoned King.

He is murdered at Berckley Castle.

The deed-doers *Matreweys* and *Gourney* though they had Commission and



and great hopes given them to doe as they did, yet being by those who were ashamed to vow it, they durst not abide the triall, but as fugitives fled presently their Countrey: *Gourney* three yeares after was taken at *Merselles*, and murdered on the sea before he came to *England*, that hee might tell no tales who set him on worke. But this was not all the blood this deede cost, the judgement of God fell heavily, not onely upon the great contrivers, but even upon the whole kingdome: and what the issue of this present Prince, whose throne (though without his guilt) was thus set up on his fathers blood, sustained in after-ages, the many imbrued scaffolds, the divers bloody fields, the infinite slaughters in the civill discord of their divided families, which the consumed race of the most part of all this present Nobility will testifie. But now for the present, the authors of this change use all meanes to increase and fortifie their owne fortunes, whilest the State in generall receives no great satisfaction thereby. Mens expectations are not answered in that manner as they were conceived. The *Queene Mother* and her Minion *Mortimer* (lately created Earle of the Marches of *Wales*) guide all, and all that is not well done, or amisse in the Government, is now attributed to them and their Councell: So that discontentments ingender new factions according to the nature of turbulent times.

The Kings marriage with *Philippa* of *Haynault* is solemnized, and a Parliament is held at *Northampton*, where a dishonourable peace is concluded with the *Scots*, and confirmed by a match betweene *David Bruce* Prince of *Scotland*, son to *Robert Bruce*, and *Ioane* sifter to the King of *England*, which match by reason of the tender age of the Prince, being but seven yeares old, could promise litle good. Besides, by the secret working of the *Queene Mother*, the Earle of *March*, and *Sir James Douglass*, The King surrenders by his Charter his title of Sovereignty to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, restores divers deedes, and instruments of their former Homages and Fealties, with the famous evidence called the *Ragman Role*, & many ancient Jewels and monuments, amongst which was the *Black Crosse* of *Scotland*, &c. Moreover any Englishman is prohibited to hold lands in *Scotland*, unlesse he dwelt there. In consideration whereof King *Bruce* was to pay 30 thousand Markes. Shortly after another Parliament is held at *Winchester*, where *Edmond* Earle of *Kent*, brother to the late deposed King, is accused and condemned upon his confession, for intending the restoring of his brother, and conferring with divers great men concerning the same, but without any manner of fact. This miserable Earle stood on the scaffold from one till five, and no executioner could be found to dispatch him, at length a filly wretch of the *Marshalsey* cut off his head.

These violences and unpleasing courses in a new alteration, could not long hold without effecting another, which the next yeare produced. A Parliament is held at *Nottingham*, wherein all the power and glory of the *Queene* and *Mortimer* (being scarce of three yeares growth) were overthrowne; the *Queene* hath all her great joynture taken from her, and put to her pension of 1000 pounds per annum; *Mortimer* is accused to have procured the late Kings death; to be the Author of the *Scots* safe escaping from *Stanhope Parke*; corrupted with the gift of 20000 pounds: to have procured the late marriage, and peace with *Scotland*, so dishonourable to the King and kingdome: to have consumed the Kings Treasure, besides all what was taken from the *Spencers*, to have beene too familiar with the *Queene*, &c. And for these hainous offences is condemned of high Treason, sent up to *London*, drawne and hanged at the common Gallows at the *Elms*, now called *Tyburne*, where his body remained 2 dayes as an opprobrious spectacle for all beholders. Such were the

tragically

1328

Anno  
Reg. 2.

A Parliament  
at North.  
A dishonourable  
peace  
made with  
Scotland.

A Parliament  
at Nottingham.

Articles against  
*Mortimer*.

He is hanged  
at Tyburne.

tragicall and bloody returnes; those ambitious supplanters of others, got by exchange of the time, which now, may seeme, made the world weary of such violences, and more wary to runne into them. And the King growing to yeares of more abilitie to governe of himselfe, wrought a greater respect of his service in those who were of power about him, seeing him to be of a spirit likely to goe through with his worke, and therefore they use their best advice to put him into courses that might bee most honourable for him and the kingdome. The stains which his youth had received by such as governed the same, are now discovered, and meanes devised how to take them off. And withall, occasions fall out to put him into action.

And first, a new King of France lately crowned (upon the death of *Charles le Bell* without issue Male) requires his homage according to the custome for the Dutchy of *Guien* and his other lands in France held of that Crowne: whereunto though King *Edward* was supposed to have the better right, yet seeing *Philip de Valois* was now in possession of the same, and himselfe then young, his owne kingdome factious, turbulent, and unsetled, hee was not as yet otherwise than by Law (which seldome gets a Crowne) able to debate his Title; and therefore is content to temporize, and goe over in person to performe this ceremony, which did much prejudice his after claime, laid an imputation upon the justnesse of his cause, having thereby acknowledged & made good the right of his Competitor.

The difference betweene them stood thus: *Philip le Bell* Father to *Isabell* Mother to King *Edward*, had three sonnes, *Louys*, *Philip*, and *Charles*, which all were successively Kings of France, and died without any issue male to inherite the kingdome; and notwithstanding *Louys* the eldest son had a daughter, whom *Eudes* Earle of *Buoyne* her Vncle by the mother laboured to have crowned Queene; yet for that it was adjudged contrary to the *Salique* Law, which debarred Women from the succession, *Philip* the younger brother of *Louis* is admitted to the Crowne. This *Philip* likewise left foure daughters, and yet doth *Charles* his brother succcede him by the force of the same Law (which passed now as a case adjudged) without any controverfie. *Charles* dying, leaves his wife young with childe: difference arises about the Regencie of that kingdome, between King *Ed.* of England the Nephew, & *Philip de Valois*, Cousin-german to the last King *Charles*. This *Philip* was the first Prince of the blood, sonne to *Charles de Valois*, brother to *Philip le Bell*. And though King *Edward* was in degree neerer than hee, yet was the Regencie adjudged to *Philip* (if the Queene brought forth a sonne) as descending from a brother more capeable of the Crowne, than King *Edward* descending from a daughter that was uncapeable as they acknowledged.

The Queene at length delivered of a daughter the proceffe is ended, and *Philip* received and crowned King of France by their *Salique* Law, maintained to be unviolable. *Robert de Artois* a Peere of great power, was a speciall meanes of his preferment, and the exclusion of King *Edward*, who shortly after upon Summons given (as is aforesaid), goes over and meetes King *Philip* at *Amiens*, where, by the Councils of both Kings two especiall points are debated, the one concerning the quality of the Homage, pretended liege by the Council of King *Philip*, but denied by that of King *Edward*. The second point, for the Lands in *Guien*, which the last King *Charles* had bestowed on his wife, whereof the Council of King *Edward* demanded restitution, as appertaining to that Duchy. The Composition for this last point was made, in regard of the Treatie of peace made betweene the said King *Charles*

King *Edward* is summoned to doe his homage to *Philip de Valois* King of France.

The Title of King *Edward* to the Crowne of France.

Ann. Reg. 3.

lean Tillet.  
King Edward  
doeth homage  
to the French  
King.

The forme of  
the homage.

King Edward  
returnes out  
of France, en-  
tertaines the  
Scottish bui-  
nesse.

Edward Balliol  
comes out of  
France, defei-  
ted his oppo-  
sion, and is  
crowned King  
of Scots.

and Edward the second, the last of May 1325, wherein their rights were saved by protestations, reciprocally advised, and received in offer and acceptance of Homage made to the said King Charles by this Edward before hee was King, which protestations were agreed to be followed and repeated in this, with covenant, that if King Edward would pursue his right in Parliament, hee should have Iustice done him accordingly for those things in controversy. Now for the first point concerning the quality of his Homage, it was accorded without specifying the same, that it should be done and received according to the usuall manner of former Kings, with sufficient time granted to King Edward to inquire of the said quality, and to make his declaration thereof. And thereupon the sixt of June 1329, King Edward in a crimson Velvet gowne imbroydered with Leopards, with his Crowne on his head, his Sword by his side, and golden Spurres on his heeles, presents himselfe in the body of the Cathedrall Church at Amiens before King Philip, sitting in a Chaire of Estate in a Velvet Gowne of a Violet colour, imbroydered with Flowres de lis of Gold, his Crowne on his head, and his Scepter in his hand, with all his Princes and Peeres about him. The Viscount Melun Chamberlaine of France, first commands King Edward to put off his Crowne, his Sword, and his Spurres, and to kneele downe, which hee did on a crimson Velvet Cushion before King Philip, and then the Viscount putting both his hands together betweene the hands of the King of France, pronounced the words of the Homage, which were these: *You become Liegeman to the King my Master here present as Duke of Guyene and Peere of France; and you promise to beare Faith and Loyaltie unto him: Say Yea, and King Edward said Yea, and kisses the King of France (as the Lord of the Fee) in the mouth; the like Homage hee then did for the Earldome of Panthou.*

This act of submission performed in the person of a King, young, active, haughty, and powerfull, who held himselfe wronged in doing it to whom he did, bred that rancor in his heart, as it had beene better for all Christendome that ceremony had beene spared at this time, and not so punctually beene exacted by King Philip, whom their owne Historians blame for standing so much upon his Regality, with one as mighty as himselfe, and more able and likely to shake his new gotten Throne than any other whatsoever: to whose passion considering the fiery heate of his youth, hee should rather have ministered Oyle than Vineger, and more hospitably entertained him in his Court comming with that State and Magnificence, as hee did, attended with the best of all the Kingdome of England to shew what he was, and to beget a respect of his high estate. But these are the errours of improvident Princes, who carried with the sway of their owne will, imbroyle themselves and their subjects, that ever suffer the worst & are sure to pay dearly for others faults. And now thus wounded in reputation, with a minde swolne for revenge, the King of England returnes to settle his affaires at home, where Scottish businesses fall out to entertaine him. The late peace concluded with them is held so dishonourable, (as it must not hold, and to breake the same followed an occasion begun upon their owne quarrels. The tender age of their King (the affliction of kingdomes) with the emulation and factions in great men, put Edward Balliol sonne to Iohn Balliol (sometime King of Scotland) thirty two yeares after his Fathers deposition, to attempt the recovery of that Crowne. And out of France, where he had all that while remained, hee comes by the sollicitation of his friends into England, where hee was permitted under hand to get ayde, and had all such Scots and English who were



of the faction against Bruce to take his part, and with them he suddenly assaileth those who had the government of that kingdome, during the nonage of the young King David (being at that time with the King of France) and overcame them in a battaile, with the slaughter of many Noblemen, and thousands of the common people, and thereupon was immediately crowned King of Scotland at Scone. But this party being not so potent as they could maintaine and defend his quarrell against all those which opposed it, he was forced notwithstanding this great defeite, to retire him into England to get more ayde of King Edward; who now shewes himselfe in the action, joynes with Baliol against his brother-in-law King David, goes in person with a strong Army to recover Berwick, which after three moneths siege, being valiantly defended by the Lord Seton, was againe taken in, and the Army of the Scots which came to the rescue thereof, at Halidowne hill utterly defeated: where were slaine seven Earles, 90 Knights and Barons, foure hundred Esquires, and about two and thirty thousand common souldiers, as our Writers report, theirs fourteene thousand. And with the effusion of blood is Baliol returned to his miserable kingdome.

In this oppugnation of Berwick, though my haste be great, I must not so much trespasse Vertue, as to overpasse one memorable particuler, recorded by the Scottis Writers, which is, how the Lord Seton seeing all reliefe failing, and the assaults violent, as hee could not long hold out, conditions with King Edward, if rescue came not at such a day to render him up the Towne, and for assurance delivers him two of his sonnes. Shortly after King Edward, having notice of the Scottis Army, approaching with greater power and speede than hee expected, and likely to bee there before the day, summons the Lord Seton to render the Towne presently, otherwise hee should see his two sonnes executed before his face, and withall a Gallowes is made ready within sight of the Towne, the young Gentlemen brought forth and under the hand of the Executioner; Wherewith the distressed Lord, rent betweene those powerfull passions of Nature and Honour, standing doubtfull what to doe, his Wife the Mother of those sonnes, a Lady more than a Woman, comes unto him, exhorts him To remember his Fealty sworne to the King, his Charity to his Countrey, the dignity of his noble Family, that they had other children left though these were destroyed, and besides themselves were not so old, but that they might have more. How those, if they should bee preserved from death at this time, might otherwise shortly perish by some worse occasion. And what a shame hee should lay on the name of Seton, and their posterity for ever, by a base act of yeelding and betraying the place committed unto him: whereby also hee was not certaine whether hee should preserve his children or no. For how could he hope that this King, who had violated his first promise with him, would performe the last. And therefore he fought him that hee would not preferre an uncertaine and momentary benefite, before a certaine and perpetuall slavery. And so recovering the Lords resolution for holding out, withdrew him from the Walls, into some other parts aside, that he might not be spectator of the execution of his innocent Children.

The next yeare after this defeite at Halidowne Hill, Edward Baliol King of Scots, at New Castle doth Homage to the King of England as his superiour Lord, and takes his Oath of Fealty, binding himselfe and his heires to hold that Kingdome of him and his successours for ever, with the inheritance of his Countreys next adjoining to the Borders. So large a party yeelds he to forgoe, rather than to be in danger to lose the whole, which yet could not secure his estate, but rather embroyleth it the more, by reason of the discoment which

Berwick recovered.

The Battell of Halidowne hill.

A memorable act in the oppugnation of Berwick.

1333  
Anno  
Reg. 7.

Edward Baliol doth homage for the kingdome of Scotland.

A Parliament  
at London.

A remarkable  
consideration.

1336

Anno  
Reg. 10

Robert de Ar-  
tois discontented  
with the  
French King.

Iean Tillet.

Robert de Ar-  
tois comes into  
England.

most part of the Nobles of *Scotland* conceived upon this act of alienation, and subjection of their Countrey, in so much as it gave both Kings continuall occasion of trouble for a long time after, with the expence of infinite Treasure. There was granted to the King of *England* for these Wars a fifteenth of the *Temporality*, a twelfth of Cities and Boroughes, and a tenth of the Clergy, in a Parliament holden at *London*. And three yeares together the King goes in person with Armies into those parts, and never returned without destruction and blood-shed of that afflicted people: in so much as it may move us to admire, how it could bee possible, that little corner of this Isle, being no more fertile, and withall so often wasted, could breed so many (had it bred nothing but men) as had beene slaine in battell within these fifty yeares past, and yet still to be able to supply and furnish their fields with such numbers as they did, both to maintaine their owne quarrels, defend their liberties, and that poore ground they dwelt upon, which was not worth so much blood as it cost them, deserving to have had a better peece of earth, and a more perspicuous place in the world to have shewed those acts of magnanimity and courage, as they did.

The reason that moved King *Edward* with such violence to prosecute the businesse of *Scotland*, was out of a desire so to settle the same, as he might be wholly for the designes he had upon *France*, which chiefly he intended, and was the sooner put therein by the instigation of *Robert de Artois*, who being chased from thence by King *Philip* his brother-in-law, comes over into *England*, and here is entertained with great honour.

This *Robert* a Prince of the blood of *France*, descended from *Robert* sonne to *Louis* the eighth, brother to *S. Louis*, had long contention with *Maude* his Aunte Countesse of *Burgogne* about the Earledome of *Artois*; and presuming upon his owne power, his alliance with King *Philip*, who had married his sister, and the service hee had done in advancing him to the Crowne, counterfeites a Deede thereby to overthrow his Auntes right; which being afterward discovered, made it the more, and moved the *French* King to give judgement on her side, so that the County of *Artois* was by arrest of Parliament confirmed upon *Maude*, which so offended *Robert*, as in his rage he openly said, *He would unmake the King by the same power he made him*. Which rash menace uttered before many witnesses, so stung the *French* King, as presently he layes to apprehend him, but failing therein, causes him to bee proclaimed Traytor, confiscates all his estate, forbids his Subjects whosoever, either without or within the kingdome, which held of that Crowne, in any sort to receive him, comfort, counsell, or ayde him, upon paine of confiscation of body and goods. And withall charges them by any meanes to seise upon his person, and to send him prisoner unto him. Whereupon this chased Prince, finding no place on that side safe for him, over hee comes into *England*, is joyfully entertained by King *Edward*, made of his Councell, invested in the Earledome of *Richmond*, and here is he the kindle fire betweene these two mighty Nations, and began such a flame, as lasted above an hundred yeares after, and the smoake thereof much longer. First hee discovers to King *Edward* the secrets of their Councels at *France*, and what meanes had beene used for the advancement of King *Philip*, whose Title hee now disapproves, and preferres that of King *Edward*, as most just; and a Declaration is published and sent to the Pope, and all the neighbour Princes, shewing the usurpation of *Philip de Valois* upon that Crowne.

Now had King *Edward* ever since his returne from *Amiens*, prepared to make

make good his party to oppose the French King, and by the assistance of his Father-in-law William Earle of Haynault, combined with the Dukes of Brabant and Gelders, the Earle of Juliers, the Archbishop of Cologne, Valeran his brother, John of Haynault, and other Princes of Germany. And besides, had of late obtained by great gifts of Louys de Bavie, the present Emperour, to be Vicar Generall of the Empire, whereby he was to have all those Princes confiners upon France, who held of the same, to doe him service. And this grace the Emperour did him, the rather for that he had stood for him against his competitor Frederick of Austria, with whom the French King tooke part; and besides hee had married King Edwards wives sister, which might be a motive to procure him this honour. Then steakes he to gaine and draw in the Flemings, whose Earle though adhering to the French King as his Vassall; yet the Cities which ever entertained a kinde of liberty among themselves, were easily won to take part with King Edward, in regard their wealth chiefly grew by the Wools of this kingdome, which by a Parliament holden at London, Anno Reg. 9. were prohibited to be transported unwrought. That Clothes should be made here, and habitation with all Priviledges and Liberties allowed to such Artificers as would come from other parts to inhabit. Besides it was enacted, that none should weare other than English Closh, except the King, Queene, and their Children; that no man should weare any facing of silkes or furrers, but such as could dispend 100 pounds per annum. But those Ordinances (more beneficiall to this kingdome than these Wars will be) were upon this new entertained correspondence with the people of Flanders, soone after neglected; but yet the making of cloth continued, and many come out of Flanders to exercise that trade in England.

Now there was among the Flemings one Jaques de Arteville, Citizen of Gaunt, a Brewer as some say (but of more than Beere) a man of greatest estimation amongst the people, and was as their Tribune or Chieftaine in their tumults; him King Edward gets by great rewards to take his part, and thereby had them all ready to assaile the French King upon any occasion.

Having thus prepared his party abroad, all meanes are devised to raise monies at home to supply this businesse. A tenth penny of Townes and Boroughs, a fiftieth of others, and a tenth of the Clergy is granted in a Parliament at Northampton. All such treasure as was committed to Churches throughout England for the holy Warre, is taken out for the Kings use in this. The next yeare after, all the goods of three Orders of Monkes, Lomburds, Cluniagues, and Cistercences, are likewise seised into the Kings hands, and the like Subsidie as before granted at Nottingham. Honours are likewise bestowed on many Noblemen to encourage them in this intended action. Henry of Lancaster the younger is created Earle of Derby, William Mountacuse Earle of Salisbury, Hugh Audeley Earle of Gloucester, William Clinton Earle of Huntingdon, William Bohun Earle of Northampton, Robert Vfford Earle of Suffolke: Prince Edward was likewise at this time created Earle of Chester, and Duke of Cornwall. In Anno Reg. 12. at a Parliament at Northampton, (as some write in the absence of the King) was granted by the Laity, one halfe of their wools, but of the Clergy was leaved the whole, and they were caused to pay nine Markes for every sack of fine Wooll. The next yeare after a fiftieth was likewise paid in Wooll by the Commonalty. And now for the better managing of this worke abroad (having well accommodated the Scottissh affaires) he goes over into Flanders, takes with him the Queene and Children, lyes at Antwerp, where, by perswasion of the Flemings he tooke upon him the Stile, Title, and Armes of the King of France, wherby they held they might the better justifye their partaking in his

King Edward made Vicar Generall of the Empire.

The making of cloth introduced in this kingdome. The first sumptuary Law wee finde in our History.

King Edward wins Jaques de Arteville

Meanes used for Mancy.

1338

Anno Reg. 12.

A Subsidie of Wooll: King Edward goes into Flanders with his wife and children.



The French  
Kings parta-  
kers.

Meanes to ap-  
pease these  
two Kings.

The French  
King seises on  
the Duchy of  
Guyen.  
King Edward  
enters into  
France.

Froissart.

The Knights  
of the Hare.

1330  
Anno  
Reg. 14

A Parliament  
at London.

his quarrell, and dispence with their Oath formerly made to the French King, having besides bound themselves in 20 hundred thousand Crownes, never to beare Armes against the King of France, and thereupon the league was established betweene them and King Edward. The French King was not behinde in his preparations and confederacies, having to take his part the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of Rhene (who covenanted to serve him against King Edward and his adherents with three hundred Horſe for 5600 Florins.) The Bishop of Mentz, Albert and Otho Dukes of Austria, Theodore Marquesse of Monferat, Amè Earle of Geneva, besides many Princes of Estate, and divers great Captaines out of Germany, French-county, Savoy, Dauphine, Spaine and other Countries. So that all the best of the Christian World are either in Armes, or ayding in this quarrell, betweene these two mighty Kings. Long were they preparing and making a noyse before they came to grapple: and much was wrought by the Pope, and the King of Sicile a great Astrologer, who devined by skill he had in the Starres of much future calamity to France, to have accorded them, which would not be.

The preface of this Warre began on the Borders of each others State: On this side King Edward sets upon Cambray defended by the French. Philip on the other, seises on the Duchy of Guyen, and thither sends Conte d'Eu Constable of France, with the Earles of Foix and Arminiaque, who surprize many strong peeces thereof: Besides, hee hath a great Navy at Sea which committed much spoyle on the coast of England. King Edward enters France by the way of Vermandois and Thierache, approaches neere to King Philip: Both Armies were lodged betweene Viron fosse, and la Flamenguerie, the day of the fight appointed upon the Friday after, the Battels on both sides made ready, the advantage of number was on the French; but both Armies furnished with brave men of Warre, and circumspect, depart without encounter; the French esteeming it no discretion to put the person and state of their King to the hazard of battell within his owne Kingdome: and the English consisting of lesse number, thought fit not to assayle them: and so they passed the day in countenances, and nothing was done. Onely this accident fell out, which after gave matter of sport: A Hare starting before the head of the French Army, a great shout was suddenly made, which they who were behinde supposing to have beene upon the on-set of a Battell, disposed themselves to fight; some Esquires for their more encouragement, are according to the custome presently knighted, who were ever after called *Knights of the Hare*.

The next morning early both Kings dislodge, the French retires to Paris, the King of England into Brabant, where after he had strongly fastened his Confederates, and disposed of his affaires, he leaves the Queene and returns into England about Candlemasse, having beene in Brabant about a yeare, lands at the Towre about Midnight, (and finding it unguarded, was much displeased) sends for the Maior of London, whom he commanded to bring before him the Chancellour & Treasurer, with John S. Paul, Michael Watch, Philip Thorp, Henry Strasford Clergy-men (who it seemes were Officers for his receites) and John Sconer Iustice of the Bench: All which, except the Chancellour were arrested and committed to prison, as were afterward in like manner divers Officers of Iustice and Accountants upon inquiry made of their unjust proceeding.

Then calls hee a Parliament at London in Lent, which granted unto him for custome of every sack of Wooll 40 shillings; for every 300 wooll-felts 40 shillings; for

for every last of Leather forty shillings; and of other Merchandises according to that rate; the same to indure from that Easter to the Whitsontide twelve moneth after. Besides, there was granted of Citizens and Burgeses, a ninth part of goods; of forreigne Merchants and other a fifteenth, of Husbandmen the ninth Sheafe, the ninth Fleece, the ninth Lamb for two yeares. Also another tenth of the Clergy. And for his present supply, hee had loanes of divers persons, and the City of London lent 20000 Markes. For the grant of which mighty Subsidy, the King (besides his Pardon to divers kindes of offenders) remits all Amercements for transgression in his Forrests, Relieves and Scutage untill the first time of his going into Flanders: Besides all aydes for the marriages of his Sonnes and Daughters during his reigne: pardoning and remitting all ancient debts and arrearages both of his Fermors and others any way due in the time of his progenitors and his owne, till the tenth yeare of his Reigne, (excepting such as were compounded for, and determined to be paid into his Exchequer) and heere he likewise confirms the great Charter.

During King Edwards abode in England, William Montague Earle of Salisbury, and Robert Vfford Earle of Suffolke, left in Flanders to oppose the proceeding of the French, having performed divers great exploits with happy successe, and presuming overmuch upon their fortune, were in an encounter about Lisse, so overlaid by multitude, as they were both taken and sent prisoners to Paris, to the great joy of the French King: who now to impeach the King of England's returne, had prepared a mighty Navy in the Haven of Sluce, consisting of two hundreth Sayle of ships (besides many Gallies) and two thousand armed men in the Port, ready to encounter him upon his landing: Whereof King Edward being advertised, provides great strength, with the like number of ships, and sets out at Sea upon Midsummer Eve, is met the morrow after with a Navy likewise from the North parts, conducted by Sir Robert Morley, and encounters his Enemy which lay to intercept him, with such force and courage, and advantage of winde and sunne, as he utterly defeited their whole Navy, tooke or sunke all their ships, slue thirty thousand men, and landed with as great glory, as such a victory (the greatest that ever before was gotten by the English at Sea) could yeeld. Most of the French, rather than to endure the Arrowes, and sharpe Swords of the English, or be taken, desperately leape into the Sea. Whereupon the French Kings letter, set on to give him notice of this overthrow (which being so ill newes, none else willingly would impart on the sudden) said, and oftentimes reiterated the same; Cowardly Englishmen, Dastardly Englishmen, Faint-hearted Englishmen. The King at length asked him Why: For that, said he, They durst not leape out of their ships into the sea, as our brave French-men did. By which speech the King apprehended a notion of this overthrow: which the French attribute to Nicholas Buchet one of their chiefe Commanders, who had armed his ships with men of base condition (content with small pay) and refused Gentlemen, and sufficient Souldiers; in regard they required greater wages: and it often happens, that the Avarice of Commanders have beene the occasion of great deficits.

But this losse much abated the power of the French King, who notwithstanding in these Martiall times was soone supplied, both out of his owne Dominions, and those of his Confederates, and makes a mighty head against this victorious, powerfull, and freshly furnished King of England; who suddenly set downe before Tournay, with all his owne and his adherents Forces. And from Ebyn (a place heere by where hee lodged) sends his Cartill the 17 of Iuly, to Philip de Valois, lodging at S. Andrew les Aire with his puissant

Great subsidies granted. Customs at first but temporary.

Pardons and Remission of ancient debts.

Retribution.

The Earles of Salisbury and Suffolke taken prisoners in France.

King Edward vanquishes the French Kings great Navy.

King Edward.

King Edward A.

King Edward besieges Tournay and sends his challenge to the French King.

puissant Army, declaring how he with the power of his owne kingdome, and ayde of the Flemings, was come to recover his right in the kingdome of France unjustly detained from him, contrary to the Lawes of God and man: and that seeing no other meanes would serve, he was forced in this manner to have recourse to his sword. Notwithstanding seeing the businesse was betwene them two, he offers for the avoyding of Christian blood, and devastation of the Countrey, to try the same by combat in close Campe hady to body, or each of them accompanied with 100 choyce persons: which if the said Philip refused, then to strike battell within ten dayes after, before the City of Tournay.

The French Kings answer to the Challenge.

Philip de Valois returnes answer the last of July in this manner, Philip by the grace of God King of France, to Edward King of England: We have perused your letters sent to the Court of Philip de Valois, containing certaine requests to the said Philip: and for that it appears those letters and requests were not written or made unto us, we will in no sort answer you. But seeing by those letters, and otherwise we understand how you, led by wilfulnesse, without all reason, have entered our Kingdome of France with armed power, and committed no small damage in the same, and on our people, contrary to the duty of a Liegeman: having lately sworn Homage unto us, acknowledging us, as by right King of France, and have promised that obedience which is due from the Vassall to his Liege-lord, as is manifest by your Letters Patents under your great Seale, which wee have with us, and you likewise ought to have the same with you. And therefore our intencion is as becomes our Honour, to chase you out of our Kingdome, as we firmly hope in Christ (from whom we have our power) to doe. For that by this your warre, most wickedly begun, our journey undertaken for the East is hindred, no small number of Christians theremurdered, the holy service neglected, and the Church dishonoured. And whereas you alledge you possesse the ayde of the Flemings, wee are assuredly perswaded, that they with the Communality of their Countrey, will so beare themselves towards our consen their Earle and us their superiour Lords, as they will not omit to observe their honour and fidelity, whatsoever hath bene by some, through ill counsell perpetrated for their owne private, contrary to the common good.

The French write, how King Philip with this Letter sent word to King Edward, how by his Cartell he adventured nothing of his owne, but only exposed the dominion of another, which was without all reason. If he would hazard the kingdome of England, (though it were, lesse against the kingdome of France, the said king Philip would enter combat in close camp with him, on condition the V. E. should enjoy both kingdoms. But that, they say, K. Edward would not doe.

A mediation for peace.

Three moneths the siege of Tournay had continued (and nothing effected but the waste of the Countrey about) all the eyes of Christendome bent up on this action; both kingdomes deeply engaged, expecting with anxiety the doubtfull event thereof, when Jane de Valois sister to Philip, widow of William late Duke of Haynault, and mother to Philippa wife to King Edward, a Princessse of excellent vertue, came from Fountenelles where shee had rendered herselfe a Nun, vowed to God, to mediate a peace betwene these two enraged Kings, her brother and her sonne-in-law, and labours to stay the sword of destruction lift up for blood, travailling from one to another (stubbornely bent to their intentions) & never left them (though often denied) till shee had with great patience, and wise counsell qualified their boyling passions, in such sort as shee obtained day and place for both Kings to parle together. A memorable worke to be effected by a woman, especially in such an age of Iron as that was. This parle brought forth a truce for one yeare, and both these great Armies are dissolved. The French King returnes home, and

A Truce concluded.

Anno  
Reg. 35.



and so doth the King of England with his Queene: who had remained in those parts three yeares, and had there brought forth two sonne, *Lionell* afterwards Duke of Clarence, and *John* borne at *Gant*, who first was Earle of *Richmond*, and after Duke of *Gloucester*.

But King *Edwards* condescending to this suddaine trege, had indeede no other motive than the want of his supplies of Treasure, which came shortly to his expectation, notwithstanding those mighty impositions which were layd on his Subjects. And whereas he had upon his last returne into England, in great displeasure, removed his Chancellour, & imprisoned his Treasurer, with other Officers (most of them Clergy men) and still held them in durance, *John Stratford* Archbilhop of *Canterbury*, (on whom the King layd the blame of his wants) writes him a most bold and peremptory Letter to this effect: first shewing him, *How it was for the safety of Kings and their Kingdomes, to use grave and wise Counsellors, alledging many examples out of holy Writ of the flourishing happinesse of such as take that course, and their infelicity who followed the contrary.* Then tells him to remember how his father led by evil counsell, vexed the Kingdom, putting to death, contrary to the Law of the Land, drivers of the Nobility, and wished him to consider what hapned thereby unto him. Also to shew him how himselfe at first, through evil Counsell about him, had almost lost the hearts of his people. But afterwards, by the great circumspection and care of his Prelates and Nobles, his affaires were reduced into so good order as he recovered them, and now possessed them in such sort, as they all, both Clergy and Lay, have yielded their helping hands, more to him than to any of his Predecessors, whereby he had gloriously Triumphed over his enemies, the French and Scots, and is reputed the noblest Prince of Christendome. But now at this present, through the wicked counsell of such as affect their owne profit, more than his honour, or the welfare of his people, he had caused Clergymen and others to be arrested, and held in prison by him and not proceeding, contrary to the Lawes of England (which he was bound by his oath at his Coronation to observe) and against *Magna Charta*, which whosoever shall presume to infringe, are to bee by the Prelates (according to the Bull of Pope *Innocent* the fourth) Excommunicate. So that hereby he incurred no small danger to his soules and detriment to the State and honour. Then he tells him, how he doubted that if the King proceeded in this manner, he should lose both the hearts of his people and their helpe, in such sort as he should not be able to prosecute his War in hand, and thereby give his enemies heart and occasion to rise against him, to the hazard of his honour and the Kingdom. And therefore advises him to assemble the Nobles and prudent men of the Land, and to consult with them (without whose ayde and counsell, he could not governe his kingdom, or performe his enterprises) concerning what was amiss. And whereas, sayd he, certaine were about you by their adulation and flattering, falsly betray and deceive you, we here denounce them excommunicate, and beseech you as your spirituall Father, that you hold them so. Besides, he urges him, that whereas through the negligence of some Ministers of his, the City of *Turney* was not gotten, the matter might be examined in Parliament, and inquiry made to whose hands, from the beginning of the War, the *Wools* and monies are committed to be bestowed, & by whose default the City of *Turney* was not subdued, but left in such manner as it was, and that as an equall and wise Lord he would chastise such as were culpable, and not condemne or misdeeme his subjects without sufficient tryall. The letter bate date the 1. of January.

Then writes he also to *Robert Bousier* Chancellour of England shewing him, what contribution the Clergy had yeilded to the K. by their free consents, & that none other were to bee exacted of them. Requiring him to doe no

*John Stratford*  
Archbilhop of  
*Canterbury*  
his letters to  
king *Edward*.

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thing prejudiciall to the Law of Magna Charta; and that if any writ, Commission, or Precept had gone out of the Chancery contrary therunto, or the Priviledges and liberties of the Church or Kingdome, he should within ten dayes after the receipt of these his Letters (as he said the Chancellor was bound to do) revoke and annull the same. This bare date the 28. of January.

Another Letter he likewise sends to the King and his whole Councell, declaring that Whereas contrary to the priviledges and liberties of the Church and Kingdome contained in Magna Charta, John de Saint Paul, Michael de Woth, Robert Chickwill, John Thorpe and Henry Stafford, were arrested, committed to prison, and there detained without being indicted, or convicted of any notorious crime; and that whosoever were aiding or counselling to this proceeding, had incurred the sentence of the Canon, which hee had caused to be published both in his owne Dioces, and in all other of his suffragans. And therefore he sought the King and his whole Councell, without delay to deliver the said Prisoners, or otherwise (hee plainly writes) that according to his Pastoral charge, he must proceede to the execution of the sentence. Concluding how notwithstanding it was not his intention to include the King, Queen, or their Children, so farre as they might by Law be excused.

To this purpose he likewise sends to the Bishop of London, and other his Suffragan Bishops, (whom after having complained of the great exactions and wrongs done to the Church by lay men) hee charged him not onely to denounce and publish in their Church, but fixe up in all eminent places the sentence of Excommunication, against all offenders in those Articles of Magna Charta which are at large added to his letter, to the end (as he said) that every man might know the danger, and none pretend to be ignorant thereof.

The King wakened with this clamour of the Archbishop, is faine to apologize for himselfe, by his letters written to the Bishop of London, wherein, after having declared how much he had ever honoured and trusted the Archbishop, he accuses him of manifest wrong, for that Relying upon his Counsell, he was put at first upon this action against the French King, and by him assured he should not want treasure and meanes for the performance thereof; and that hee needed not to care but onely to provide men to execute the warre. And how notwithstanding, through the negligence or malice of the said Archbishop and his Officials, those provisions granted him by his Subjects in Parliament, were in so slender proportion levied, and with such delays sent over, as hee was prest of necessity (to his great griefe and shame) to condescend to the late truce, and through extreme wants (charged with mighty debts) forced to throw himselfe into the gulph of the Excheyner, in such sort, as having just cause, hee began to looke into the dealing of his Officers: some of whom upon apparant notice of their ill administration of justice, their corruptions and oppression of his Subjects, hee removed from their places and some of inferior degree culpable of the same offences, hee committed to Prison, and there detained them, to the end hee might finde out by their examinations, the truth of their proceedings, whereof none could so well informe him as the Archbishop, to whom of long time, he had committed the whole administration of the Kingdom. And therefore desirous to confer with him at London, he had of late sent an especiall messenger, his trusty servant Nicolas de Cantelupe, that he should repaire thither which the Archbishop refused to doe, alledging him he stood in feare of some about the King, and therefore would not endanger himselfe, nor depart from his Church. Then the King sent Ralph Stafford, steward of his house, with safe conduct under his great Seale for the Archbishops security: Notwithstanding he refuses to come, returning word, he would have no conference with the King but in open Parlyament: which at that time (said the King) was not far

Quatenus de  
jure poterat  
excusari.

King Edward  
accuses the  
Archbishop of  
false dealing.

especiall

speciall reasons convenient to be called. Then aggravates hee the undutifull contempt of the Archbishop and his hypocriticall dealing with him: reckoning that although by hereditary right, and the divine grace he was advanced to that sublimity of regall power, he held it alwayes to have bene a detestable thing to abuse the great power thereof, and how he affected nothing more in the world, than to governe his subjects with mildnesse, clemency, and moderation of Justice; that he might with peace enjoy their love. And how notwithstanding the Archbishop had most injuriously by his Letters published in divers parts, borne his innocency, and slandered the faithfull service of his Counsaillors and Officers, who executed his regall justice, exclaiming how the people were oppressed, the Clergy constrained, the King dome grievous with taxations and all kind of exactions. Which the King avowed was to no other end, but to raise sedition among his people, and to withdraw their love and obedience from him. Lastly, to give notice of the Archbishops corruption, he declares how him selfe being under age, had through his counsell made so many prodigall donations, prohibited alienations, and excessive gifts, as thereby his treasure was utterly exhausted, and his revenues diminished, and how the Archbishop corrupted with bribes, remitted without reasonable cause, great summes which were due unto him, applying to his proper use, or to persons ill deserving many commodities, and revenues which should have bene preserved for his necessary provisions. And therefore concluded, while hee departed from this his rebellious obstinacie, hee intended in due time and place more openly to proceede against him: injoyning them to publish all and singular these his matters, and to cause others to doe the like, for the manifestation of his owne proud and perversely intention, in raising his owne and his subjects wronges. This Letter was sayd to have bene penned by Adam Bishop of Winchester, and bare date the 12. of February. Anno. Reg. 15.

Thus the King and his officers, whose proceedings must not receive a check, are cleared, and the imputation rests upon the Archbishop, who is charged with great accounts, and pressed by such as lent the King mony, to render the same. But shortly after the King found much to doe in the Parliament held at London, being earnestly petitioned by the whole assembly of the three Estates, that the great Charter of Liberties, and the Charter of Forreins might be duly observed, and that whosoever of the Kings Officers infringed the same, should lose their place: that the high Officers of the Kingdome, should as in former times, be elected by Parliament. The King stood stiffe upon his owne election and prerogative, but yet yielded, (in regard to have his present turne served, as him selfe after confessed) these Officers should receive an oath in Parliament, to doe justice unto all men in their offices, and thereupon a Statute was made and confirmed with the Kings Seale, both for that, and many other grants of his to the Subjects, which notwithstanding were for the most part presently after revoked.

The truce agreed on before Turney for one yeare, was by the Commissioners of both Kings, and two Cardinals from the Pope, concluded at Arras, which yielded some cessation of Armes, but not of plotting more mischief. Louis of Barvis (intituled Emperour) is wonne to the party of the French King, becomes his sworne confederate, and revokes the Vicarship of the Empire, formerly confirmed on the King of England, pretending the cause to be for concluding the late truce without him, as appeares by his Letters to King Edward, which are againe by him fully and discreetly answered.

But in steed of this remote and unconstant confederate (whose power lay without the limits of France) Fortune brought in another more neere, and of readier means to offend, within the body of that Kingdome. The inheritance

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Vol. Stat. 15.  
Edward 3.

The Articles  
Vol. Appen.

The Emperor  
revokes the  
Vicariate, the  
reason why.  
Vol. Appen.



The contro-  
versie for the  
Dutchy of  
Brittaine.

Monfort doth  
homage for  
the Dutchy of  
Brittaine to  
King Edward.

Monfort taken  
prisoner.  
His wife pro-  
secutes her  
husbands  
quarrell.

Forces sent  
over into  
Brittaine.

The death of  
Robert de  
Artois.

heritance of the Dutchy of Brittain is in controversie betweene *Charles de Blois*, Nephew to King *Phillip*, and *John de Monfort*, upon this title: *Arthur* Duke of Brittain had by *Beatrice* his first wife, two sonnes, *John* and *Guy*, by *Toland* Countesse of *Monfort* his second wife, *John de Monfort*. *John* the eldest sonne of *Arthur* having no issue, ordayned *Jane* his Neece, daughter to his brother *Guy* (who died before him) to succcede him in the Dutchy. This *Jane*, *Charles de Blois* marries on condition his issue by her should inherite the same, wherein after consummation of the Marriage he is invested, and had homage done unto him during the life of *John* their Vncle. But after his death, *John de Monfort* claymes the Dutchy, comes to *Paris* to doe homage for the same to the French King. *Charles de Blois* in the right of his wife, opposes him, the controversie is referred to the Parliament. Sentence passes on the side of *Charles*. *Monfort* enraged repaires to the King of England, doth his homage unto him for the Dutchy, is received with great applause, and his title (howsoever held bad at home) is heere made to bee good. Returning backe into Brittain both with comfort and meanes, after some encounters with his enemy, hee is taken and committed prisoner to the *Louvre* in *Paris*: His wife the Countesse of *Monfort*, sister to *Louis* Earle of *Flanders* (a Lady who seemed to have more of the man than her brother) prosecutes her husbands quarrell, puts on Armour, leades and encourages her people, surprises, and defends many strong peeces of Brittain: but in the end, like to be overlaid by the power of *Charles de Blois*, shee craves ayde of the King of England, and hath it sent, under the conduct of the Lord *Walter de Manny*, which relieved her for the present, but the future required more: whereof King *Edward* was not sparing, in regard of his owne designs, for aydes are seldome sent to forrainers but for the Senders benefit. The Lady her selfe comes over into England to treat both for supplies and alliance, tending a match betweene her sonne and a daughter of King *Edward*. The Earles of *Salisbury*, *Pembroke* and *Suffolke*, the Lords *Stafford*, *Spencer* and *Bonchier*, with *Robert de Artois* Earle of *Richmond*, are sent with great forces backe with the Lady. Many were the incounters, surprises, and recoverings of Fortes betweene the English and the French; and in this action *Robert de Artois* received his last wound, at the siege of *Vannes*, but yet was brought to die in England, it being not in his Fate, that his Country (which by his meanes had suffered so much affliction) should have his bones, though it had his blood, which he lost with little honour, though with much valour, leaving behinde him but the fame of a Rebelle, after he had served the English about six yeares.

King *Edward* shortly after these supplies sent into Brittain, goes himselfe in person with more, and lying before *Vannes* (lately recovered by the French) *John* Duke of *Normandy* eldest sonne to the French King, sent to ayde *Charles de Blois*, with an Army of forty thousand, came to give him battaile, and being upon the point of incounter, a mediation of truce is made by two Cardinalls, sent from Pope *Clement* the sixth, and concluded for three yeares, upon many conditions, with a reference to the Pope, and the Court of *Rome*, to heare and examine the differences betwixt the two Kingdomes, but not to determine them without the consent of both Kings. This pause againe gives them more time to worke for greater wounds, and nothing is left unpractised that might advance the same. And though the people now seemed to put off their Armour, they left not off Armes, but had divers bickrings, both in Brittain and *Gascony*, for which eyther side accused other.

King Edward returning, makes an expedition into Scotland against King David, whom he chased into the Islands: And here the Isle of Man is conquered by William Montacute Earle of Salisbury, whom King Edward caused to be stiled King thereof, and returning backe, solemne Turneaments are held at Dunstable, where he is attended with 230. Knights. For now all the pastime, and exercise in England were Iustes and Turneaments held in Smithfield, Windsor, and other places. A society of Knights of the Round Table, in imitation of king Arthur, is designed, & a magnificent Chamber of 200. foot round, erected for the same at Windsor, and to this society many strangers of other countries are allured. The French King also practises the like martiall association in France.

And about this time began the order of the Garter, instituted at Windsor upon a solemne feast there celebrated (which held for many dayes) and served that time as an Embleme of a rye and combinement in honour of such as were admitted thereunto, which was the end of the constitution thereof: Howsoever the Garter of the Countesse of Salisbury, taken up by the King in dancing with her, was sayd to have bene the occasion. But it were some derogation to that noble institution, to impute the originall thereof to an act of Levity, seeing with what a grave and religious ceremony it is performed. Although wee see oftentimes, accidents of little consequence give beginnings to things of great estimation, which time makes venerable.

But besides these exercises of Armes, this great and provident King, during this truce, takes especial care for the government of the Kingdom, and reformation of the abuses thereof, which daily grow as diseases in full bodies, and must of necessity have sometimes their cure, otherwise there will be no health in a State. A Parliament is called at Westminster, wherein upon the grievous complaint exhibited by the Earles, Barons, Knights and Burgeses against the collation of Benefices on strangers, a letter was sent to Pope Clement the sixth, in humble manner beseeching him to consider how inconvenient, and derogatory it was to the State of the Kingdome of England, that such reservations, provisions, and collations of Benefices as had bene formerly used, should in such sort bee continued. For that the Churches of England had in times past bene endowed, by noble and worthy persons: to the end the people might bee instructed by such as were of their owne language: and how by the usurpation of some of his Predecessors, strangers, and sometimes enemies to the Realme, were preferred to many of them, whereby the many and profits were transported, the Cures unfurnished, Almes and Hospitalities unused, the edifices ruined, the charity and devotion of the people diminished, and many other grievous enormities, contrary to the will of the Founders, occasioned: which they could not suffer any longer, and therefore besought his Holinesse wholly to revoke such reservations, provisions and collations, that meete and native persons might exercise those cures, and without delay to signifie his intention therein, otherwise they meant to employ their diligence, that remedy and redresse might be had according to reason. The date of these Letters was in full Parliament at Westminster the 28. of May 1343. with which were likewise sent the Kings letters to the same effect by Sir John Shordich, a grave person and of great understanding in the Law; whose message made him so unwelcome to that Court, as he departed without leave, or answer, w<sup>th</sup> though the Pope afterwards sent: yet the king proceeded to the prohibition of all such provisions & collations within his Realme, on paine of imprisonment, or death to whom soever should in time to come present or admit any such person or persons, who by the Pope were so preferred to the prejudice of the Kings prerogative. And to this effect

Reg. 17.

An. 1343

The institution of the Order of the Garter.

The Nobility write to the Pope concerning his collation of Benefices in England.

Sir John Shordich sent with these Letters.

The Arch-  
shop of Can-  
terbury recon-  
ciled.

Prince Ed-  
ward created  
Prince of  
Wales.

Reg. 18.  
An. 344  
A Parliament,

Generall mu-  
sters and ap-  
pointing of  
Armour.

were Writs directed to all Archbishops, Bishops, and others to whom it appertained, inhibiting them in no wise to attempt any thing prejudiciall to this ordinance.

Here is the Archbishop *Strasford* with much adoe upon his submission reconciled to the Kings favour. And much debating there is in this Parliament concerning Woolls and the assessement of certaine prices upon the same, more or lesse, according to the severall parts of the Realme: and concerning customes to be imposed on them, as at three Markes and a halfe upon the transportation of every sacke; but it seemes nothing was done in this businesse.

Prince *Edward* about the age of 13. is created Prince of *Wales*, and Commissioners are appointed to be sent to the Pope to treat of Peace betweene the two Kings, according to the Articles concluded in the truce, which were *John* Bishop of *Excester*, *Henry de Lancaster* Earle of *Derby*, *Hugh le Despencer* Lord of *Glamorgan*, cosins to the King, *Ralph* Lord *Stafford*, with others.

The next yeare after, another Parliament, or the same proroged, is held at *London*, wherein after much alteration, a tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a fiftenth by the Laytie for one yeare, and a certaine Coyne of gold called the *Floren* of base alloy, which had beene for the Warres in *France*, is decayed, and Nobles of finer coyned, to the great liking of the Subjects. And for their better commodity the exchange of monyes at *London*, *Canterbury* and *Yorke* is ordained. Shortly after generall Musters are taken throughout the Kingdome, and Certificate made of all sufficient and able Bowmen, and of all other fit to beare Armes. Besides, a Commission is sent into every Countrey to inquire of mens abilities; and all of five pounds to ten of lay Fee, were appointed to finde an Archer on horse-backe; of 25. pounds, a Demilance, and so ratably above. The King himselfe goes in person to confirme and make the *Flemings* fast unto him: and at *Sluce*, *Jaques van Arteville* with other Commissioners from their chiefe Townes, repaire unto him, where a motion is made, that either *Louys* their Earle should doe homage to the King of *England*, or else to be disinherited, and *Edward* Prince of *Wales* received for their Lord: for which King *Edward* promises to erect their Countrey to a Dukedome. *Arteville* was forward to entertaine this motion: but the rest of the Commissioners require leave to acquaint therewith the Townes that sent them, which though they were all desirous to have the Protection of the King of *England*, yet disliked the disinheriting of their naturall Lord. *Arteville* notwithstanding undertakes to induce them unto it, and returnes to *Gaunt*, garded with five hundred *Welsh*, which he desired to have, for that on *Gerrard Denyse* Provost of the *Weavers* opposed him, and sought his destruction. The people whom he had so often led to mutiny against others, now upon his returne rose against himselfe, and a Cobler with an Axe strake out his braines. And so King *Edward* lost his great Agent, which much displeased him, and disappointed his businesse in those parts. Yet the Townes sent to excuse themselves of this accident, laying the fault on the turbulent *Gaunt*'s, and in all things vowed their faithfull service unto him: onely to the disinheriting of their Earle they could not consent. But they hoped to perswade him to become his homager, and to procure a match betweene the sonne of their Earle, and his daughter. And thus pacifying his present displeasure, the league is renewed betwixt them, and King *Edward* returnes to prosecute his other designs.

But now the Warres in *Guien* grew hot, the Earle of *Derby* Generall of the Army, assaults and takes in *Ville-Franche*, *Agemois*, *Angolesme*, *Rions*, *Saint Basile*,



*Basile*, with many other Cities and Castles. The French King sends his eldest sonne *Iohn Duke of Normandie* to incounter him; who recovers the Cities of *Angouleme*, and *Ville-Franche*, and thus is the sword out before the Truce is expired, the breach whereof, the French King layes on the King of *England*, and he the same on him, for entertayning King *David*, and setting the *Scots* upon attempts of invasion of his Realme. So that it seemes both were prepared to breake, not able to hold their hands any longer from the fatall worke of destruction.

It was now the twentieth yeare of this mighty and active Kings reigne, wherein he had prepared the greatest Fleet that ever yet crossed the Seas for *France*, and over he passes into *Normandy* in *Iuly*, leaving for Wardens of *England* in his absence, the Lords *Percy* and *Newile*, taking the young Prince with him about the age of fifteene yeares, to learne him the way of men, and what travell greatnesse was borne to indure, to attaine glory in this world. His Army consisted of foure thousand men at Armes, and tenthousand Archers, besides *Welsh* and *Irish*, which followed on foote; he had of Earles, *Hereford*, *Northampton*, *Arundell*, *Huntingdon*, *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, and *Oxford*: of Barons, *Mortimer*, (who was after Earle of *Marche*) *Iohn*, *Louys*, and *Roger Beauchamp*, *Cobham*, *Lucy*, *Basset*, *Barkley*, and *Willoughbie*, with divers other both Knights and gallant Captaines. He had of late entertained *Godfrey de Harecourt*, who had beene a minion to the French King, and became another *Robert de Artois*, upon some discontent, or doubt of some discoveries of favouring the *English* party in *Brittaine*, for which cause the French King had a little before executed *Olivier de Clisson*, *Bacon*, *Percy*, *Geffrey de Malestrois*, men of especiall marke, whom he had there employed. And now in steed of this *Harecourt* had wonne from King *Edward* the Lord *Iohn de Beaumont*, who had long served him, was his wives Vncle, and acquainted with all his courses. Such is the trust of mercenaries, who sell their faith for better entertainment. Neither did this *Harecourt* long hold out, but changed colours, and made his peace with the French King his naturall Lord: but in the meane time did him and his Country much mischief. For upon King *Edward* landing with his mighty Army, in the Isle of *Constantine* in *Normandy* by his conduction, hee made him one of his Marshals, and the Earle of *Warwicke* the other. The Earle of *Arundell* is appointed Constable. Hee divides his people into three battailes, one to march on his left hand, along the Sea coast; the other on the right, conducted by the two Marshals, and himselfe in the midst with his maine Army. The Earle of *Huntingdon* employed for Admirall of his Fleete, was to take all the Shippes hee found on the Sea coast. The three Armies by land lodged every night in one field. And first hee sackes the City of *Caranton*, slew all he found armed or disarmed therein, burnes, razes, desolates the City, saying hee sacrificed those oblations to *Bacon*, *Percy*, and others (whose heads he found set upon the principall gate) unjustly massacred by *Phillip*. Thence he marches forward, and sooke *Saint Lo*, a rich towne of merchandise, and pillaged the same. Then after some bickring, became Master of *Caen*, and put all that Country into so great terror, as *Falsife*, *Lysseux*, *Honfleur*, strong walled Townes, rendered themselves unto him. This don he spread his power in the Isle of *France*, to draw out *Phillip* to the combate, giving out that hee would wrastle with him in the eye of all *France*, on the great Theater before his capitall City of *Paris*.

*Phillip* this while held not his armes in his bosome, but had ramassed one of the fairest Armies, saith the French History, that ever was seene in *France*, composed

Reg. 20.

An. 1346

The King goes with a mighty Army into *Normandy*.

*Iohn de Beaumont* when King *Edward* had made him Earle of *Cambridge*, takes the French Kings part.

The manner of King *Ed.* proceeding with his Army.

The French K. prepares to oppose K. *Ed.*

King Ed. goes  
over the river  
of *Sone*, defeats  
the *French*.

The French  
K. resolves to  
incounter  
K. Edward.

His impati-  
ence and his  
hope.

The ordering  
of King Ed-  
wards Army.

composed of *French*, *Lorraines*, *Alcmaines*, *Genouys*, which hee led towards *Meulan*, where King *Edward* was sayd to have made a stand and attended him; but upon report of his comming on, retyres: it was supposed hee fled for feare, but the event shewed that the great God of Armies had destined his victory for another place. King *Phillip* followes and overtakes him at a Village called *Arenes*, a name remarkeable (signifying the *Sand*) to shew on what unstable earth all the trust of humane forces, and the designs of the great are founded. This mighty Army of King *Phillip*, having the advantage to be at home where all was theirs, made him account the victory certaine. King *Edward* retires to gaine the River of *Sone* at *Blanquetaque*, but the passage was to bee disputed by the sword. For *Phillip* had before sent thither *Gundemar de Fay*, with a thousand horse, and six thousand foote. King *Edward* notwithstanding resolves to passe or perish, and plunges formost into the River, crying out: *They who love me will follow me*. At which voyce all thrust in without dispute, striving who should bee foremost, and lo presently the shoare gained by the *English*. *Gundemar* astonished with this unexpected, and bolde adventure, astonishes his people by his fearefull countenance. So that the *English* incountring the *French* all in disorder, fell upon them and put them to flight. But the retraite was neere to *Abbe-Ville* and *Saint Requier*. The losse was not so great as the shame, but served as a presage for a greater mischief to *France*. These disrouted men all affrighted flocke into *Abbe-Ville*. Where King *Phillip* enraged with this dishonour, resolves to revenge it, and presently to provoke King *Edward* to the combate. The advise of his Councell was otherwise; to suffer his troupes to repose some few dayes, and recover their spirits; and King *Edward* to coole and spend his, in the meane while. But hardly had this King the patience to stay in *Abbe-Ville* one day, whiles the bridge to passe over his Army, was repaying. And with this precipitation and fury, into the field hee marches, elevated with an assured hope of a triumphant victory.

King *Edward* better tempered, manages his worke with admirable discretion and vigilancy, and had now incamped in a Village called *Crecy*, and there entrenched and fortified himselfe, not onely with the trees of the Forrest about it, but with deepe rampiers, and other defences besides: causing also a Parke to be paled under the wood side behide his hoste, wherein were placed all the Carts and Carriages. His Army consisted of thirty thousand men, but in order and courage double the number. The vauntgard he gave to the Prince, and for guides the Earle of *Warwicke*, *Godfray de Harcourt*, the Lords *Stafford*, *De la ware*, *Bourcheir*, *Clifford*, *Cobham*, *Holland*, Sir *Iohn Chandos*, Sir *Bartholomew Burwash*, Sir *Robert Nevile* with eight hundred men at Armes, and two thousand Archers, besides a thousand other, most of them *Welsh men*. The second battaile was committed to the Earles *Arundell*, and *Northampton*, the Lords *Rosse*, *Willoughby*, *Basset*, *Saint Albin*, *Multon*, and others, wherein were eight hundred men at Armes, and twelve hundred Archers. The third battayle the King led himselfe, having seven hundred men at Armes, and two thousand Archers. These Battayles thus ordered, mounted on a white Hobby, he rode from ranke to ranke to view them, the one Marshall on his right hand, the other on his left, encouraging every man that day to have regard to his right and honour.

The French Kings Army was greater both in lustre and advantage, composed of above sixty thousand combatants well armed, whereof the chiefe were, *Charles* Earle of *Alanfan* the kings brother, *Iohn de Luxembourg* King of *Bohemia*, *Charles de Bloys* the Kings Nephew, *Ralph* Duke of *Lorraine*, the Earle

Earle of Flanders, Nevers, sancerre, the Dolphin de Viennois: of Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen, about three thousand; and on the Eve of the battaile, *And* Earle of Savoy arrived with a thousand men at Arras more, which made the French King swell with assurance of the maisterie, so that hee longed to be at the encounter. The Vauitgard he commits to his brother Conte d'Alanson, the Reere to the Earle of Savoy, the maine battaile he leades himselfe: his heate would scarce permitt time for a little counsell what was fit to be done. The old King of Bohemia advised that the Army should first take some repast, and that the Infanterie consisting of *Genouese* (which were about fiftene thousand crosse bowes, and sure men) should make the first front, and the Cavallarie to follow, which was agreed on. After their repast the Vauitgard set on; the Conte d'Alanson, contrary to this order, took will that the *Genouese* were in the first ranke, and in fury caused them to change place, which changed the Seat of the Armie, and wrought that discontent as it irritated them more against the leader than the enemy: besides there fell at the instant a piercing shower of raine, which dissolved their strings and made their Bowes unusefull, and at the breaking up of the shower, the Sunne shone full in the face of the French (dazling their sight) and on the backes of the English, as if all made for them.

King Edward who had gotten to a winde-mill, beholding as from a Sentinel, with a settled spirit, the countenance of the enemy, and discovering both this accident, & the hurlment made by the change of place, slackes not to take advantage thereof, and instantly sends to charge that part, without giving them time to reaccomodate themselves, inso much as the discouraged *Genouese* reboyle, which the Conte d'Alanson perceiving, and comming on with the horte, in great rage cries out, *On, on, let us make way upon the bellies of these Genouese, who doe but hinder us*: and instantly prickes on with a full career through the midst of them, attended with the Earles of Lorraine, Savoy, and the Dolphin de Viennois, and never takes breath till hee came up to the English battaile, where the Prince was, which they found better settled: their horses flanked with troupes of Archers, whose strings having not felt the raine, rained such a shower of Steele upon them, as cooled their heate and all disordered them. The French King seeing his brother thus indangered, makes up to disingage him, whereupon the fight grew hot and doubtfull, inso much as the Commanders about the Prince, sends to King Edward to come up with his power to ayde them: the King demands the messenges, whether his sonne were slaine or hurt: the messenger answered no, but he was like to be overlaid. Well then, sayd the King, returne, and tell them who sent you, *that so long as my sonne is alive, they send no more to me what ever happen, for I will that the honour of this day be his*. And so being left to try for themselves, they wrought it out with the sword; and recovered the advantage, by reason the French King (having his horse slaine under him, and in danger to be trodden to death, had he not beene recovered by the Lord John Beaumont, his new Pensioner) was to the great discouragement of his people withdrawne out of the field. Whereof notice being once taken by the English, the day was soone after theirs, and the greatest victory they ever had yet against the French: and so bloody as there is not mention made of one prisoner taken in the battaile: for they being once put to rout, were all, whom the sword could overtake, slaughtered out right. Some few troupes that held together, saved themselves by tryring to places neere adjoyning. The French King himselfe with a small company got to Bray in the night, and in approaching the walles, the Guard, asked *Who goes there*, he answered, *The fortune of France*.

The ordering of the French Kings Army at the battaile of Cressy.

King Edward discovers the disorders of the French.

King Edward obtains the victory in this great battaile of Cressy.

The French King says.

His



The number  
of the slaine.

His voyce being knowne, the gates are opened, and in is he received with the teares and lamentations of his people, whom yet he seekes to comfort all he could. The number of the slaine on the place are certified to be 36. thousand. The chiefe men were *Charles d'Alanson*, *John Duke of Barbone*, *Ralph Earle of Lorraine*, *Louys Earle of Flandres*, *Jaques Dauphin de Viennois*, Son to *Imbert* (who after gave *Dauphine* to the Crowne of *France*) the *Barles of Sancerre*, *Harcourt* (brother to *Geoffry*) and many other *Barles*, *Barons*, and gentlemen to the number of 1500. This memorable victorie hapned upon the Saterday after *Bartholomew day*, being the 26. of *August*, 1346.

All the Markes of an intire overthrow rested with *King Edward*: the field of the Battaille, the bodies of the slaine, and their spoyle. The occasion of this great defeat (according to humane conjecture) the *French* attribute to the choller, rashnesse and precipitation of their king and his brother, and fure, temeritie and presumption have ever beene the ruine of great Actions, especially in warre.

*King Edward* managed this victory with as great moderation as he wonne it: and first, having imbraced his Sonne, commending his valour shewed that day, he renders thankes to God after, as he had invoked his ayde before at the beginning of the Battaille, and early in the morning, being Sunday, hee sent out 300. Lances, and 2000. Archers to discover what was become of the enemy, who found great Troupes of such as were coming from *Abbeville*, *Saint Requier*, *Roan*, and *Beauvoys*, (ignorant of what had hapned) led by the Archbishop of *Roan* and the Prior of *France*, whom they likewise defeated, and slew 7000. Our Writers report, that of Straglers which were fled from the Battaille, or coming on, (having lost their way by reason of a thicke mist which hapned that morning) were slaine many more than in the field the day before, which sheweth the wonderfull losse this afflicted Country sustained at one fatall blow.

But this was not all the victories that fell to *King Edward* that yeare, there was an other of more importance gotten in *England*, by the Queene and his people at home against the King of *Scots*, who being set on by the *French* to divert the warre there, entred upon this Kingdome with 66. thousand men, as our Writers report, assuring himselfe of successe, in regard (as hee supposed) the maine strength thereof was now gone into *France*. But he found the contrary: the Lords of the North, as *Gilbert de Humfriville*, Earle of *Angus*, *Henry Percie*, *Ralph Nevile*, *William Dayncourt* with the Archbishop of *Torke*, the Bishop of *Durham*, and others of the Clergie, gathered so great force, and so well ordered them by the animation of the Queene (who was there in person) as they utterly defeated this great Armie; tooke *David* their King prisoner, with the Earles of *Fife*, *Menteth*, *Murry*, *Sutherland*, the Lord *Douglas*, the Archbishop of *Saint Andrewes* and others, and put to the sword 15. thousand *scots*. This victory fell likewise upon a Saterday, and six weekes after that of *Cressy*. And as if all concurred to make this yeare tryumphant: The aydes sent to the Countesse of *Monfort* in *Brittaine*, lead by *Thomas Dugworth*, overthrew and tooke prisoner, *Charles de Bloys*, pretender to that Dutchie, and with him *Monsieur la Val*, the Lords *Rochford*, *Beaumanoyr*, *Loyach*, with many other Barons, Knights and Esquires: there were slaine in the incounter the Lord *De la Val* (father of him which was taken) *Vicom Rohan*, *Monsieur de Chasteau Brian*, *de Malestroit*, *de Quintin*, *de Direval*, great Lords, besides many other worthy men at Armes, Knights and Esquires, to the number of about 700. Thus all fell before the Sword of *England*.

King David  
overthrowne  
and taken pri-  
soner.

Charles de  
Bloys taken  
prisoner.

Now King Edward, without meddling with the great Cities, *Amiens*, and *Abbeville*, which were both ere, marches on directly and sets down before *Calais*, a Towne of more importance for England, and the gate to all the rest; where *John de Rieu*, Marshall of France, and the Lord of *Andeghen*, a great man in his time, commanded. All this Winter King Edward having sheltered his people in another Towne, furnished with all provisions, lay without any molestation of the French King, who this while was likewise besieged with the affliction of his owne Starve. Misfortune is ever held a great fault, both in mighty men and meane, and opens the mouths of those whose hearts are perverse. The people of France were in extreme poverty, yet notwithstanding the necessity of the Kings Affairs, must constraine fresh supplies. The ill managing the publique treasure, the falshood of the *Financiers*, the decrying of Monyes, the diminishing of staffe, augmentation of imposts, Subsidies, Gabels, &c. were the causes of this publike murmur, and put the people in despaire, seeing no end of the troubles where, in their King was dayly more and more engaged. And now was no way to helpe him, but by an assembly of the States. Wherein the *Financiers*, Receivers, and managers of monies are called to render an account, and the treasure committed to the disposing of the Clergy and the Nobles, to take away suspicion in the people of ill dealing. Four Bishopps, two Abbots, and foure Knights are chosen for that businesse. *Pierre de Essart*, Treasurer of France, is committed to prison, condemned in a great fine to the King. Other Officers and accountants reſſe at once; what they were long in gathering, the *Banquiers*, *Lombards*, & other usurers, are put to the presse for their unlawfull exactions: the Interest is proved to exceed the Principall, which is confiscate to the King, and the Interest given to the Debtors. Countes, where with indigent Kings in expensive times used to serve their turnes, and please their oppressed people. Which I have the rather noted, though it lye without our circle, to shew that other Kings likewise layd hand upon what they could fasten as well as ours have done, and made benefite of mens offences: onely this of the Usurer is new to us, but yet like to that practised heretofore upon the Jewes, and might serve a turne with as much content to the people, and as faire a shew of a just correction as theirs did, the nature of the Extortors being alike.

Ayded with this meane, and the ready service of his Nobles and ablest Subjects, the French King, in the Spring hath an Army in the field, approaches *Calais*, but findes no way open to come to relieve it. The King of England was both Maister of the Haven, and possesse all other wayes whatsoever were passable, and had the *Flemings* his friends, who with a huge Army had besieged *Ayre*, and did much mischief on the confines of France. To oppose them, is *John Duke of Normandy*, the Prince, sent for out of *Guien*, who being no sooner removed from thence, but *Henry of Lancaster*, Earle of *Derby* became master of the field, having an Army consisting of twelve hundred men at armes, two thousand Archers, and three thousand other foote. *English* and *Gascornes* takes in most of the Townes of *Zantouge*, and *Poitou*, in the end besieged and sacked *Poitiers*, and so returns to *Bordeaux* with more pillage than his people could well beare. Thus, the French suffer every where. The King, not being able to approach to grapple with the King of England, sends to sollicite him to appoint some place of battaile, and hee would incounter him. King Edward returns answer; If hee would make his owne way to come thither unto him, there he should finde him: for, from thence he would not part, having there layne so long to his greivous labour and charge, and being

King Edward  
besiegeth  
*Calais*.

The States of  
France, called  
to give  
aid.

Conditions  
for the ren-  
dering of  
Calais.

The Queene  
obtaines par-  
don for the  
Burgesses of  
Calais.

King Edwards  
Clemency.

The conquest  
of the Towne  
of Calais.

King Edward  
returnes into  
England.

King Edward  
refuseth the  
Election of  
king of the  
Romans.

being now so nere the point of gaining the place. The two Cardinals sent from the Pope, labour to mediate a peace, and Commissioners on eyther side meet to treat: but nothing could be effected. So that the French King was forced to breake up his Armie and retire to Paris, leaving Calais, and the defendants supplicied, to the mercy of the Besieger, which when they understood, they sent to desire Parley, had it gramed, and therein received his final sentence: that sixe of the chiefe Burgesses should be sent to the King bare-headed, bare-footed, in their shirts, with halters about their neckes, the keyes of the Towne and Castle in their hands, and submit themselves to the Kings will: for the residue he was content to take to mercy. This sentence intimated to the miserable townsmen, they all in lamentable manner looking each on other, who should be chosen for this sacrifice, one amongst the rest stands up, and boldly spake to this effect. *Fellow Citizens, for mine owne part I have so often exposed my life, in this long siege for my Country (and have bene every day to die) am now most willing to sacrifice the same for my last obligation thereunto, and will cheerefully carry my head to the victory of the King of England, not desiring to survive the perdition of my miserable Country. Which free and resolute speech so wrought with this amazed people, as now they strive who should be one of the six, and cryed, Let us go, let us go unto death, it is the last day we ought to render to our native soyle. Six are presently chosen, and sent according to the sentence, presenting themselves on their knees to the King, and beseeching him to shew mercy unto them. The King commaunders them instantly to be carried to their execution, and would not (although great supplication was made for them by his Councell) be diverted, in regard as he sayd of his birth, in the Queene, great with Childe, fell on her knees before him, and with teares obtained their pardon, and had them given unto her, which done shee caused them to be clothed, gave them their dinner, and his nobles a man, appointing them to be safely conveyed out of the Army, and set at liberty. An Act worthy of so great a Queene, and the greater by this her decde of merite. The King though in this he were sterne, yet was he more sparing of blood than his Grand-father Edward the first, and had more of compassion, as shewed in Act in this siege. When Victuals within the Towne beganne to faile, and all unusefull persons, as old men, women, and children put out of the gates, he forced them not backe againe which hee might have done, the sooner to consume their store, but suffered them to passe through his Army, gave them to eat, and two pence a peece to every one.*

And thus was that strong Towne of Calais the third of August, 1347. gotten, after almost an yeares siege, with infinite cost and labour: All the Inhabitants are turned out and sent away to seeke new dwellings, a Colony of the English planted therein, and so it remained in the possession of the Crowne of England 110. yeares after. And now this tryumphant King having made truce for some few moneths, and taken order for the safe keeping of his hard gotten prize, returnes with his Queene, the Prince and his people into England, to make Holy-day, and enjoy the benefite of their booties brought home out of France, which he sayd to bee so great as every house had some part, and the Wives of England, now flourish with the stufte and ornaments of those of France, who in the meane time lament their losses, and heere is nothing but Feasts and Tryumphes throughout the Kingdom. And to adde to this glory, the Princes Electors send to signifie, that they had chosen king Edward, king of the Romans: which great dignity, notwithstanding he refused, being it seemed out of his way, or cumberlome to deale withall.

But



But before that yeare ended, this great jollity here in England turned to the saddest mourning that could bee possible. The invisible Sword of Heaven makes such a ravage upon mankind, as had not beene knowne before. A contagious Pestilence miseth in the East and South parts of the World, that diffreads it selfe over all Christendome. And in England they write that it took away more than the halfe of men. As if the Divine providence seeing them thus violently bent to destroy and massacre one another, would lessen their numbers for their fields, and take to it selfe the vengeance of Blood shed in this terrible manner. Churchyards could not heere suffice to bury the dead, new grounds are purchased for that purpose. It is noted there dyed in London, betwene the first of January and the first of July 52374. persons. Other Cities and Townes suffered the like, according to their portions. All which calamitie notwithstanding, could not deterre those eger Princes from prosecuting their quarrell, nor yet so misfurnish their fields, but that they found still fresh hands for blood shed, as shewed their many conflicts shortly after. But yett gave some pause, all the fervour of the contagion allwaged, which was also attended with a miserable famine, murraine of Cattle, and sterility of the earth, caused through the indisposition of the Heavens, and wants of culture.

The first Action after this was the Kings going over to Calais, upon information of a practise to surprise the Towne, contrived by the French, which was thus. Monsieur de Charmy, Governour of Saint Omers, had dealt with Americo de Parais, whom King Edward had left Captaine of the Castle of Calais, offering him 20. thousand Crownes to be received into the Castle: Americo accepts the offer, and appoints a night for the businesse. In which night (by advertisement from Americo) King Edward arrives with 300. men at Armes, and 600. Archers. Monsieur Charmy sets out likewise the same night from Saint Omers with his Forces, and sent 100. armed men before with the Crownes to Americo, and to possesse the Castle. The men are led to a Postern Gate, the Crownes received and themselves layd in hold. Which done the Gates of the Towne are opened and out marches the King before day, to encounter Monsieur de Charmy, comming on with his Forces, who perceiving himselfe betrayed, put his people to the best defence hee could, & the King of England to a hard bickring, who for that hee would not be knowne there in person, put himselfe and the Prince, under the colours of the Lord Walter Manny, and was twice beaten downe on his knees, by Mongeur de Riboumont, a hardy knight (with whom hee fought hand to hand) and yet recovered, and in the end tooke Riboumont Prisoner. Charmy was likewise taken, and all his Forces defeated. King Edward the night after (which was the first of the new yeare) feasted with the Prisoners, and gave Riboumont in honour of his valour (wherein hee honoured his owne) a rich Chaper of Pearle, which himselfe wore on his head (for a New-yeares gift) forgave him his ransome, and set him at liberty. The rest pay dearly for what they got not, and were well warned how to Trafficke in that kinde. Yett the English not long after in the like practise had better successe, and got the Castle of Guisnes (a peece of great importance neere Calais) for a summe of money given to one Beauconroy a Frenchman. Of which Castle, when the French King demanded restitution, in regard of the Truce: King Edward returns answer That for things bought and sold betwene their people, therein was no exception, and so held it.

Shortly after, the French King not borne to live to see any better Fortune,

The first great Pestilence.

Anno Reg. 23

King Edward goes over to Calais. The French circumvented in their practise.

1305.

Anno

Reg. 24

The French  
King dyes.King Edward  
In action at  
Sea against  
the Spaniards.Alterations of  
monies.

A Parliament.

Anno

Reg. 27

The Staple  
established in  
England.

Walsingham.

dyes, leaving that distressed Kingdome to his sonne *John*; who found farre worse. For these forenoted wounds, were but as scratches to that State, compared with those horrible maimes it indured in his, & after in the Reignes of *Charles 6.* and *7.* till the sword of *England* was turned home upon it selfe, to let out the blood of revenge with as Tragieall mischiefs, on the successors of these actors, who now thus wrought others ruines abroad.

King *Edward*, the next yeare after, is againe in person with a Fleete on the Sea, to encounter certaine Spanish Shippes, passing from *Flanders* loaden with Cloath and other commodities, whom, after a great fight, and much blood shed on eyther side, he tooke with all their substance: For that the *Spaniards* the yeare before, entered the River *Garonne*, and tooke away certaine English shippes, loaden with Wines, and slew all the English. His forces in *Guyen* were not idle this while, but many conflicts passed betweene the *French* and them: notwithstanding the Truce which was renewed. The Wars in *Brittaine* likewise continue, and are hotly maintained betweene the two Ladies, the widdow of *Monfort*, and the wife of *Charles de Blois* (whose husband remaines prisoner in *England*) eager defenders of eythers pretended right.

Divers overtures of peace had beene made by Legates, sent from the Pope, and Commissioners often met, to the great expence of both Kings, but nothing could be concluded (the winner and the loser seldome agreeing upon conditions in regard the one will have more than the other is willing to yeeld unto) and so temporary Truces (which were but slenderly observed) are onely taken to winne time. These actions not onely consumed our men, but the treasure of the Kingdome. The War, though invasive, could not maintaine it selfe. The monies here are altered, and abated in weight, and yet made to passe according to the former value. Before this time there were none other peeces but Nobles and halfe Nobles, with the small peeces of silver called sterlings; but now groates of four pence, & halfe groates of two pence, equivalent to the sterling mony, are coyned, which inbaused the prices of things, that rise or fall according to the plenty or scarcity of Coyne. Which made servants and labourers to rayse their wages accordingly. Whereupon a Statute was made in the Parliament, now held at *Westminster*, to reduce the same to the accustomed rate which was given before the late Mortality. This caused much murmuring amongst them, imputing the cause thereof, to *William Edington* Bishop of *Winchester*, the Kings Treasurer, whom they held to be the author of the abatement of the Coyne.

The King conceyving displeasure against the *Flemings*, for being disappointed of the Match betweene a Daughter of his, and their young Earle *Louys* (who was escaped into *France*, and bestowed on a daughter of the Duke of *Brabant*) with-drawes the Mart or Staple of Wools from their Townes, greatly enriched thereby, and caused the same to be kept at *Westminster*, *Chichester*, *Canterbury*, *Lincolne*, *Warwicke*, *Torke*, *New-castle*, *Excester*, *Carderben*, *Bristol*, and *Hull*. Holding it fitter to advance his owne townes than strangers, by the commodities of the Kingdome. And here are provident Ordinances enacted, for the governing and ordering this Staple.

An Act is also made in this Parliament, that all Weares, Mills, and other stoppages of Rivers, hindering the passages of Boates, Lighters, and other Vessels, should bee remooved. An Act most commodious to the Kingdome, but it took little effect, saith my Author, by reason of bribing and corrupting Lords and great men, who regarded more their owne, than

than the publike benefite: A mischief fatal to all good Ordinances, and yet it is an honour to that time, that so behoovefull an act was ordained. For, this easie conveying and passing of Commodities from that place to place, to impart the same more generally, would (no doubt) be an infinite benefite to this State: And seeing God hath made us Rivers proper for the same, it is our negligence, or sloth if wee marre them, or make them not usefull in that kind, as other nations doe with farre lesser streames.

There is mentioned also of an Act to be made, at the instance of the Londoners, that no common Whore should weare any hood; except rayed, or striped with divers colours, or Furses, but garments reversed, the wrong side outward: wherein they did well to set a deformed marke upon foulness, to make it appeare the more odious.

After this Parliament, Henry Earle of Derby, is created Duke of Lancaster, and Ralph Lord Stafford, Earle of Stafford; and here Charles de Bloys, a long prisoner in England, agreed for his Ransome, which was 40. thousand Florins, and was permitted to returne into Brittain to provide the same. Great mediation is made by the Pope to accord the two Kings, and Commissioners meete on both sides, to treat and conclude a Peace. The chiefe Article in deliberation, was; That the King of England should enjoy all the Lands of his Dutchy of Aquitaine, without holding the same by resort or homage of the Crowne of France: and in consideration thereof, should resigne all his clayme and tittle to that Kingdome. And this was in a manner then fully agreed on, yet in the end broken off by the French (Alledging, they could not alienate any thing from the body of that Crowne) to their farther confusion and mischief, having heere better to have spared a formall Ceremony appertaining to a part, than to have had the whole so miserable rent and torne in pieces as it was. And yet in the end they were faine to make their agreement upon the same very Article, at the Treaty of Britania.

But now the Commissioners returning without effecting any thing, the King of England grew so displeased, as he would not hearken to any further prorogation of Truce, though it were most instantly urg'd by two Cardinals, sent from Avignon by Pope Clement the 6<sup>th</sup> (who being a French man borne, laboured much for the peace of his Country) and preparation is made for fresh warres. The Prince of Wales now growne a man, is appointed by Parliament to goe into Gascoigne with 1000. men at Armes, 2000. archers, and a great number of Welshmen, and in June following, sets forth with 300. Sayles, attended with the Earles of Warwicke, Suffolke, Salisbury, and Oxford, the Lord Chandos, the Lord James Audley, Sir Robert Knolles, Sir Franke de Hall, with many others.

About Michellmas following, the K. himselfe passes over to Calais, with another Army, taking with him two of his sons, Lionel of Antwarpe, now Earle of Ulster, (by the right of his wife, Elizabeth daughter & heire to William Bragh) And John of Gant, Earle of Ribmont. There met him at Calais, of Mercenaries out of Germany, Flanders, and Brabant, a 1000. men at Armes. So that his Army consisted of three thousand men of Armes, and two thousand Archers on horse-backe; besides Archers on foote. The City of London sent 300. men at Armes, & 500. Archers all in one Livery, at their owne charge. But all this great power effected nothing at that time, the French King would not be drawne to any encounter: both in regard of the potency of his enemy, and some turbulenties happening amongst his owne people; but hee so dis-furnishes the Country (where the English were to passe) of all provisions to

Stow.

The Earle of Derby created Duke of Lancaster.

Treatie of Peace.

Anno Reg. 27

King Edward passes with an Army into France.

Returns without doing any thing.



sustaine them, as the King of *England* was forced to returne.

The distemperatures of *France* that this time diseased it, grew from the violent humors of *Charles* King of *Navarre*, who had married *Jane* the French Kings daughter, a Prince of a stirring spirit, subtile, haughty, and presuming upon his great Estate, and high blood, being the sonne of *Louys* Conte d'*Eureux* and *Jane* daughter to King *Louys* Hutin; which *Jane* was put by the inheritance of the Crowne of *France* by *Phillip* de *Long* her Vncle, in regard of the *Salique Law*: and by him preferred to bee Queene of *Navarre*, in whose right this *Charles* her sonne, bare both the title and state of that kingdome, with many other great inheritances: all which could not yet content him, but holding himselfe wronged that he had not also the Counties of *Champagne* and *Bry*, which appertained to his mother by the same right as did the Kingdome of *Navarre*, enters into violent courses. And (daring not to complaine directly of the King) he falls upon the Constable of *France*, as chiefe of his Councell, & one of whom he was jealous, in regard of the Kings particular favour unto him, and in the end caused him to be murdered in his bed at *L. Aigle* in *Normandy*, rushing himselfe up into his Chamber, accompanied with his brother *Phillip* of *Navarre*, two of the *Harecourts*, and divers other of his owne retinue. After the deede done, he retires to his owne City of *Eureux*, and justifies the act to be lawfull.

The French King, though extremely stung herewith, yet was faine to temporise, and promises the King of *Navarre*, if hee would come and crave pardon, hee should have it. Whereupon hee appears at *Paris* before the Councell, to render reason for his act, is condemned, as guilty of treason (notwithstanding the Kings promise) and committed prisoner. Three Queenes are earnest sutors for him, his mother (the old Queene of *Navarre*) his sister (the widdow of the late King *Phillip* de *Valois*) and his owne wife daughter to the French King. His release is obtained, and away hee goes with the rancour of this wound (which had bene better not given, unlesse it had bin home) offers his service to the King of *England* (who knew well how to make use of such a powerfull member) & withall surprises certain peeces in *Normandy*, practising all he could to withdraw the peoples affections, and aydes from their King, when hee had most neede of them. These insolencies, notwithstanding the French King is faine to endure and dissemble, untill hee might againe take him upon some advantage: to use force, hee saw was dangerous, both in regard of his party, and the time. An occasion at length fell out, whereon he seares. *Charles* his eldest sonne being lately invested in the Duchy of *Normandy*, is visited by all the great men in the Country, amongst whom as chiefe comes the King of *Navarre*, and is royally feasted at *Roan*. Whereof the French King having notice, sets out of *Paris* suddenly, takes him at dinner with his sonne, and without farther proceffe causes foure of the principall which massacred the Constable, to bee presently executed: of which, two were the *Harecourts* brethren; and withall sends away *Navarre* under sure guard to *Arras*, and his chiefe servants to divers prisons.

This sudden execution, though it gave a present amazement, yet it wakened the partizans of *Navarre*, and especially *Phillip* his brother, who with *Geffrey Harecourt* (Vncle to the two brethren) pass over into *England*, exclaiming against this violent murder, invoking King *Edward*, in a case of so notorious injustice, to ayde them: offering their hearts, their goods, their townes and havens, to let him into *Normandy*. The occasion is entertained, the Duke of *Lancaster* is sent over with foure thousand

The King of  
*Navarre*, di-  
butes the  
French King.

The French  
king commits  
the king of  
*Navarre* pri-  
soner.

The Duke of  
*Lancaster* sent  
into *Norman-  
dy* to ayde the  
king of *Na-  
varre* bro-  
ther and  
others.

men

men at Armes; and by the assistance of this great party, winnes many strong Townes.

King Edward to be furnished for so great actions, hath by Parliament granted unto him fifty shillings upon every sacke of wooll, for six yeares next ensuing: by which imposition it was thought, (say our histories) the King might dispend a thousand markes sterling a day. Such vent of woollens were in that time. And presently after the Parliament, in winter, to shew that he was for all weathers, he goes with an Army to recover *Berwicke*, which had beene surpris'd by the *Scots*, whilst he was last at *Calais*; and here hath he not onely his Towne, but the whole Kingdome of *Scotland* resigned unto him, by *Edward Baliol*, who held himselfe King thereof by the best title; but not best regarded: for King *Alexander* (though now prisoner in *England*) had the most powerfull party there: and so both were Kings to their severall sides that held them so: a miserable distraction to that poore Kingdome. And every where dwelt affliction but in *England*, and here was nothing but Triumphs, Vanquishings, and Recoverings in all parts.

The Prince enters *Guien*, passes over *Languedoc* to *Thalouse*, *Narbonne*, *Burges*; without any encounter in the field; sackes, spoiles, destroys where hee goes, and laden with booty returns to *Burdeaux*.

The French King thus assaulted on all sides, gathers what power he possibly could, and first makes against his enemies in *Normandy*, recovers many of his lost Townes; and was likely to have there prevailed, but that he was drawne of force to oppose this fresh Invador, the Prince of *Wales*, who was againe abroad, and come up into *Tourenne*; against whom hee brings his whole Armie, causing all the Townes and passages upon the River *Loire* to be strongly guarded: Whereupon the Prince, whose forces were not to encounter thole so mighty, was advised to withdraw againe thorow *Tourenne* and *Poitou*, towards *Burdeaux*. The French King to prevent his course, followes, and within two Leagues of *Poitiers* hath him at a great advantage. Two Cardinals at that instant came from the Pope to mediate a peace. The French King supposing he had his Enemy now in his mercy, would accept of none other conditions, but that the Prince should deliver him foure Hostages, and as vanquished, render himselfe and his Army to his discretion.

The Prince was content to restore unto him what he had gained upon him, but without prejudice of his honour; wherein he sayd: *Hee stood accountable to his Father, and to his Country*. So the Legates perswasions (though earnestly urged) could prevaile nothing upon the French Kings obstinacy: who presuming of victory (in regard his Army was six to one) would instantly (as loath to lose time to lose himselfe) set upon the Prince: who reduced to this streight, takes what advantage he could of the ground, & providently got the benefit of Vines, Shrubs and Bushes, on that part he was like to be assailed, to imposter and intangle the French horse, which hee saw were to come furiously upon him. The successe answered his expectation, for behold the Cavallary of his enemies upon their first assault, wrapt and incumbered amongst the Vines, so that his Archers without danger, gall and annoy them at their pleasure.

For the French King to give the honour of the day to his Cavallarie (whereof hee had caused a choice to be elected out of every company, to the discontent of the rest) imployed them onely without his Infantry: So that they being disordered, and put to rout, his whole Army came to be utterly defeated.

1335.

Anno

Reg. 29

Fifty shillings granted by Parliament of every sacke of wooll for six yeares.

Edward Baliol resignes the kingdome to king Edward, reserving to himselfe a pension.

1336

Anno

Reg. 30

The French king hath the Prince of Wales at an advantage.

The battaile of Poitiers, fought the 19 of September. 1336.

The French  
King taken  
prisoner.

The number  
of prisoners  
taken.

The shine in  
the battaile.

A memorable  
act of Iamys  
Lord Audley.

The errors committed in the battaile of *Cressie*, could not waite the King to avoyde the like. For had he had the patience to have tyled it out a while, the Prince could not have possibly subsisted, being thus invironed, and shut up from all succours as he was: and now thus furiously assaulted, and having no safety but what was to bee wrought by the sword (which desperation ever makes the sharper,) Hee, and his shewed that admirable courage that day, as purchased them the most memorable glory that ever any Martiall action did, that was achieved by the *English* with so few hands.

Here was now the Head of that great Kingdome claymed, taken Prisoner, with his youngest sonne *Phillip* (who valiantly defending his father, when his other brothers forspoke him, had afterward the Title of *Hardy*, and became Duke of *Burgogne*) *Jaques de Borbon*, Conte de *Ponthieu*, the Archbishop of *Sens*, *John d'Artoys*, Conte d'*Eu*, *Charles d'Artoys*, his brother Conte de *Longueville*, *Charles* Conte de *Tancarville*, the *Counts* of *Vendosme*, *Salbourg*, *Dampmartin*, and *La Roche*, with many other Lords of marke, besides 2000. Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen, in so much as the Conquerours, holding it not safe to retaine so many, let many of them goe. The French, who can give best account of their owne losses, report there dyed in the battaile a thousand seven hundred Gentlemen, amongst which were fifty two *Bannerets*: the most eminent, *Peter de Barbin*, the Duke d'*Athenis* Constable of *France*, *Jam de Clermont* Marshall, *Geffrey de Charny* High Chamberlaine. There escaped from this battaile three of the French Kings sonnes (for hee brought them all thither) *Charles* Prince Dauphin (and the first so intitled) *Louis* after Duke of *Berry*, *John* Duke of *Berry*, all great actors in the time following.

This blow might seeme to have bin enough to have utterly overthrowne that Kingdome, and absolutely subdued it to the Crowne of *England*, but that it was a body which consisted of so many strong limbs, had such store of spirits dispersed in severall parts, and contained so wide an extent of state, as all this blood-letting could not dissolve it, or make it faint to give over. And sure these powerfull Kingdomes, howsoever they may be diseased, and suffer, cyther through the distemperature of their heads, or distractions of their other parts, can never (unlesse by a generall dissolution) be so lowe brought, but they will recover againe in the end: their frame holds by many nayles, which never fayle all together.

The Prince of *Wales* in this battaile, hath a double victory, the one by the sword, the other by his Curtisie: first he visits the captive King, with all reverence and regard of Majesty, comforts him by examples of war, and assures him of all faire entertainment according to his dignity. The especiall great men who were actors in this worke must not passe unremembred, the Earles, *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, *Salisbury*, *Oxford*, *Stafford*: the Lords, *Cobham*, *Spencer*, *Barkeley*, *Basset*: Of *Gascoignes*, *Le Capital de Beuf*, the Lords *Pumier*, *Chaumont*, and others. And here the Lord *Jamys Audley* is renowned both for his valour and bounty, who having vowed to bee formost in this fight, performed his word, and sealed it with many wounds: for which the Prince having rewarded him with the gift of five hundred markes, Fee-simple in *England*, hee presently gave it to foure of his Esquires, who had with him endured the brunt of the day. Whereupon the Prince demanding, whether he accepted not his gift, hee answered how these men had deserved the same, as well as himselfe, and had more neede thereof. The Prince pleased with this reply, gave him five hundred markes more in the same kind. An example of the worthinesse of the time, wherein good deservings went not unrewarded.



1337.  
Anno  
Reg. 31

All things providently accommodated after the battell, the Prince with his prisoners first retires to *Burdeaux*, and thence passes with great glory into *England*, now the Theatre of triumph. The French King is lodged at the *Savoy*, then a goodly palace of *Henry Duke of Lancaster*. Many prisoners upon reasonable ransome, and many upon the French Kings word (undertaking for them) are delivered and sent home honorably. *David King of Scots*, who had remained prisoner eleven years in *England*, is shortly after, by the earnest solicitation of *Isabel* his wife, sister to King *Edward*, set likewise at liberty for the ransome of a hundred thousand markes, which to be paid in tenne yeares. The security now had of *France*, gave way to this Princes liberty.

Above foure yeares the French King remained prisoner in *England*, in which time were many overtures, and great offers made for his delivery, but nothing effected. *Charles* the Dauphin, who managed that Kingdome (during the captivity of his father) a Prince of great discretion, wrought all meanes possible to bring that factious people to yeeld their contribution, for ransoming their King, but little prevayled. The Parliament there called to consult thereof, rather augments the misery of the State, than provides remedy. Wherein after the Dauphin had gravely delivered the desolation and danger they were in, being thus deprived of their Head, and the necessity of recovering and relieving the same, by their utmost meanes. There was a choyce required of fifty (to avoyd confusion) to be made out of all the Provinces, to consult of what was propounded, according to the instructions they should receive. These fifty, after many meetings, sends for the Dauphin to heare their resolution, which was much otherwise than hee expected. For in stead of ayde and subvention, they require reformation in the State. And first, the Bishop of *Laon*, chosen their speaker, besought him to keepe secret what should be uttered unto him by the States. The young Prince answers: That it were much prejudiciall to the degree he held in the Kingdome, to take Law of his Fathers Subjects: and therefore commanded them (by their Allegiance) openly to reveale what they had in their hearts. The Bishop thereupon, declares the evill managing of the Publike revenues, demands redresse, and Commissioners appointed to call such as were answerable, to yeeld their Accounts, That all who had managed the Treasury, should be deposed from their Office; That both the monyes, and all the affaires of the State, should from thenceforth be directed by foure Bishops, and twelve Burgeses, whereof the City of *Paris* should be chiefe: and that without this Counsell the Dauphin should doe nothing: And in conclusion, they instantly require; That the King of *Navarre* might be set at liberty. On which conditions they would yeeld any reasonable subvention for redeeming their King.

To these harsh Demands, the Dauphin requires time to answer, which he so put off from day to day, (in hope thereby to separate and dis-unite their Councils) as the Deputies, at length, tyred with delay grew cold, and the Assembly brake up without doing any thing.

But this left such a poyson as infected the people, and specially those of *Paris*, who shortly after presumptuously demand to have the King of *Navarre* delivered, according to the decree of the Deputies; and without delay they so wrought with *Pinguay*, the Governour of *Artoys* (who had the keeping of this Fire-brand) as hee was delivered after 19. moneths imprisonment, and comes to *Paris* so accompanied as shewed both of what spirit and state he was, and that he meant to take his time of revenge. Here is he welcom'd with the applause of the whole City, to whom in publike manner

The state of  
France during  
their Kings  
captivity.

The King of  
*Navarre* is  
at liberty.

manner with great eloquence, he declares the wrongs he had received; and besides intimates, what right he had to the Crowne of *France*; thereby to imbroyle the affaires of that State, which were already too much in combustion. This put the businesse of redeeming the captive King quite out of their mindes for that time; and the *Dauphin* is constrained (by an act of Abolition) to acquit the King of *Navarre* and his Complices, of all former offences. And seeing the perverseness of the *Parisians*, goes to sollicite other Cities, and Provinces: travailing from place to place for ayde and succour, leaving his brother *Phillip*, Duke of *Orleance*, at *Paris*, to keepe them in (the best he could) during his absence.

The Province of *Languedoc*, is renowned in their Histories, for being the first that made the largest offer of ayde towards the redemption of their King, in the Assembly of the three States at *Tholouse*, wherein they promised to their Governour, the *Comte d'Arminiac*, not onely to imploy their Revenue, but their mooveables, and even to sell their wives Jewels to raise the same. Besides, to witnessse their publike sorrow, they ordaine, that no costly Apparell, Feasting, Playes, or other jollities should be used within their Province, during the time of their Kings captivity. *Champagne* by their example doth the like. But nothing could moove the *Parisians* to yeelde any thing. The King of *Navarre* had wonne them, both from their obedience, and all humanity, and put them into such flames of rebellion, as when the *Dauphin* came backe to the City, the Provost of Merchants assaulted his house with three thousand Artificers in Armes, and rushed himselfe up into his Chamber with certaine of his traine: wherewith the *Dauphin* being amazed, the Provost bids him bee content, it was resolved it must be so. And presently upon Signall given, *Jan de Couflans*, and *Robert de Clermont*, Marshall of *France*, and his chiefe Counsellors, are slaine in his presence. The *Dauphin* cries out; *What meane you? Will you set upon the Blood of France? Sir* (sayd the Provost) *Fear not, it is not you wee seeke, it is your disloyall servants, who have evill counsailed you.* And heere withall hee takes (and puts on) the *Dauphins* hat, edged with gold, and sets his owne, which was party coloured, Red and Peach-colour (as the Livery of the City) upon the *Dauphins* head, and out he goes adorned with the Hat of a Prince, as a signe of Dictatorship, causing the bodies of these two noble men to be trayled along the streets to the Court of the Pallace, for all the furious multitude which ran to applaude the murder, to gale on.

This done, the Provost writes in the name of the whole City, to all the great Townes, soliciting them to joyne with theirs (the principall of the Kingdome) and take their Livery, as the *Dauphin* had done, for the reformation of the State. Besides, they compose a Councell of themselves, whereof the Bishop of *Laon*, the Premier President, the Provost, with some of the Vniversity, were chiefe, assuming a Sovereigne power to order all affaires of the State, as a Common-wealth. So that we see in what a miserable confusion that Kingdome stood, being without a head, and how apt it was then to shake off all authority, and dissolve the government into parts: shewing us that it was no new project amongst them to Cantonize, as the great Townes and the Princes of late praesised to doe, in their leagues during their civill combustions.

The *Dauphin* thus disgraced, with much adoe, gets out of this tumultuous City, and retires into *Champagne*, and at *Vertus* assembles the States of the Country, whom he found loyall, and ready to yeeld him all succour. The rest of the great Townes refusing (with much disdain) to joyne with the City

City of *Paris*, offer him likewise their ayde: So that hee was put into some heart, and likely to effect his desires in short itme, had not the King of *Narrve*, who sought his destruction, still rayfed new broyles in the State, and taken Armes against him;

Now besides these confusions, greater mischiefs arose in that miserable Kingdome: the poore Paylants that had beene eaten out by the souldiours, and troden under foote by their Lords, colleague and arme themselves in the Country of *Beauvoisis*, and turne head upon the Gentry, and such as had done them wrong, spoyling, sackng, burning their houses, killing their wives and children in most outrageous manner. This was not all, troupes of Souldiers which had no worke or meane to live, joyne together in mighty Companies, over-runne and ravage other parts of the Kingdome. The forces in *Brittaine* under the conduct of Sir *Robert Knoles*, breake out upon the confining Countries, and retorne loaden with inestimable booties of wealth. All which miserable calamities (enough to have utterly dissolved a State) prolong the imprisonment of their King in *England*; so that nothing could be effected for his rancome, which King *Edward* thinks long till he have in his Treasury: and urges likewise for his part, very hard conditions; requiring, say they, besides infinite summes, that King *John* should doe homage, and hold the Kingdome of *France* of the Crowne of *England*: which hee with great disdain refuses, as being not in his power to alien what was unalienable, vowing that no misery of his should constraine him to doe any thing prejudiciall to his successors, to whom he would leave the State as hee received it. But yet at length offers other, and more large conditions than the *French* were willing to yeeld unto, which being long in debating, and nothing concluded (after foure yeares expectation) King *Edward* in great displeasure, resolves to make an end of this worke with the sword, and to take possession of the Kingdome of *France*. And over he passeth to *Calais*, with a Fleet of cleaven hundred sayle. His Army he devides into three battailes, one he commits to the Prince of *Wales*, another to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the third he leades himselfe. And first hee marcheth to the City of *Aras*, which hee takes within three dayes: Thence into *Champagne*, where the Cities of *Sens*, and *Nevers* are rendered unto him. The Dutchy of *Burgoyne* terrified with these examples, redeemes it selfe from spoyle, upon paying two hundred thousand Florins of golde. Furnished with which treasure, and booties by the way, up King *Edward* marcheth to *Paris*, where the Dauphin (who had now the title of Regent, having lately overcome the faction, and executed the principall of the Mutiners) was with great forces (which in the common danger flocked together to defend their Countrey) and would not (by the example of his father and Grandfather) bee drawne out to hazard upon any attempt, but stood onely upon his defence; which the King of *England* seeing, after many provocations, rayfed his siege, and returnes into *Brittaine* to refresh his Army. In the meane time the Regent layes in mighty store of victuals, provides that the Souldiers should have enough without pressing the inhabitants, and with extreme diligence so fortifies the City, as King *Edward* returning with all his refreshed power, was utterly disappointed of his hopes, to doe any good there. Thus that great City which was like to have endangered the whole Kingdome of *France*, was the onely meane to preserve it.

Thom hence *King Edward* takes his way towards *Chartres*, with purpose to besiege that Citie; but being by an horrible tempest of haile, thunder and lightning, that fell upon his Army, so terrified, as hee vowed to make peace with the

France spoyled by the souldiers and others on all sides.

King Edward goes to take possession of the kingdome of France.

Anno  
Reg. 34



The treaty of  
Accord con-  
cluded at  
Britigny.

*Vis. Append.*

King John  
delivered.

1361.  
*Anno*  
*Reg. 35*

The second  
great pesti-  
lence.

the French King, upon any reasonable conditions, as hee shortly after did, at the treaty of *Britigny* neere *Chartres*, upon these Articles. That the Country of *Poitou*, the *Fiefes* of *Thovars*, and *Beleville*, the Country of *Gascogne*, *Agenois*, *Perigort*, *Limosin*, *Cahors*, *Torbe*, *Bigorre*, *Rovergne*, *Angoumois* in soveraignty, with the Homages of the Lords within those Territories, *Monstruel* on the Sea, *Ponthieu*, *Calais*, *Guines*, *La Merk*, *Sangote*, *Boulogne*, *Hames*, *Vales & Onis* should be to the king of *England*: who besides was to have three Millions of Scutes of gold: whereof fixe hundred thousand presently in hand, foure hundred thousand the yeere following, and the Surplus in two yeeres after insuing, upon reasonable payment.

And for this, the King of *England*, and his Sonne the Prince of *Wales*, as well for them, as their Successors for ever, should renounce all their right pretended to the Crowne of *France*, the *Dutchy* of *Normandy*, the countries of *Touraine*, *Anion*, *Maine*, the Soveraignty and Homage of the *Dutchy* of *Brittaine*, and the Earldome of *Flanders*; and within three weekes King *John* to be rendred at *Calais*, at the charge of the King of *England*, except the expences of his house. For assurance of which accord should be given into his hand Hostages: *Louys* Duke of *Anion*, *John* Duke of *Berry* (King *Johns* sonnes) *Phillip* Duke of *Orleance* his brother, *John* Duke of *Burgogne*, the *Cunts* of *Bloys*, *Alenson*, *Saint Pol*, *Harcourt*, *Poncian*, *Valentinois*, *Grand Pre*, *de Brenne*, *des Forrests*, the Lords *Vaudemont*, *Causcy*, *Piennex*, *de Saint Venant*, *de Preaux*, *de Momerancy*, *de Garancieis*, *La Roche guion*, *Estou-seville*, *Le Dauphin d' Andrigil*, *de Craon*, sufficient cautions for the sayd Summes; and conditions. The *Scots* not to be ayded by the French King, nor the *Flemings* by the *English*. *Charles* King of *Navarre*, and his brother *Phillip* are comprehended likewise in these Articles, &c.

This treatie of good accord and small Peace, signified by both Kings, was ratified by their two eldest sonnes; *Edward*, and *Charles*: and sworne unto by the Nobility of both Kingdomes. The Hostages are delivered unto King *Edward*, who departing from *Honfleur*, brought them into *England*, leaving the Earle of *Warwicke* in *France*, to have a hand in the execution of the Accord. King *John* is honourably conducted to *Callais*, attending the promised Summe, the first gage of his libertie. The City of *Paris* yeelds one thousand Royals; by whose example other Cities, contribute according to their proportions. And thus is King *John* delivered, after having remained Prisoner in *England* neere about five yeeres. And both Kings depart in kinde manner, with all demonstrations of brotherly Love.

King *Edward* returning with his Crownes, calls a Parliament, wherein, the forme of the Accord was read, and allowed of all the Estates; and an Oath taken by the Nobles to observe the same for their parts. Here the King restored to the Priors *Aliens*; their Houses; Lands, Tenements, which he had taken from them *Anno Reg. 12.* for the maintenance of his French Warres: which now being ended, he grants by his Letters Patents, in as free manner, as before they held them. A rare Example of a just King, being seldome seene that Princes let goe any thing, whereon they have once fastned.

Now againe, was the joy and glory that *England* received by their gettings, seasoned with the sorrowfull of another mortalitie, called *The second Pestilence*, whereof dyed many Noble men, the chiefe was *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, of the Royall blood, a Prince of great note for wisdom & valour: who had beene an especiall Actor in all these Warres; and a principall Pillar of the Crowne of *England*; whose Daughter and Heyre was a little before married to *John* of *Gant* (by dispensation, being neere of consanguinity)

whereby

Anno  
Reg. 36

whereby he is made Duke of Lancaster. And shortly after, by the like Dis-  
penſation, the Prince of Wales marries the Countesse of Kent, Daughter to  
Edward, brother to Edward the second. And so both are provided of Mar-  
riages within the Kingdom. The King gives to the Prince of Wales, the  
Dutchy of Aquitaine, reserving to himselfe Homage and Fealty, and short-  
ly after sends him over with his wife, and Court to live there. His sonne Lan-  
castre Earle of Chester, is sent into Ireland, with a regiment of 1500. men to guard  
his Earledome against the Irish, and was created Duke of Clarence in the  
next Parliament held at Westminster in November, which continued untill the  
feast of Saint Brice, King Edwards Birth-day, and the fiftieth yeare of his  
age. Wherein for a while he shewes himselfe extraordinarily gracious to  
his people, freely pardoning many offences, releasing prisoners, revoking  
Exiles, &c. And upon petition of the Commoners, causes Bills which before  
were in French, to be made in English, that the Subject might understand the  
Law, by which he holds what he hath, and to know what he doth. A blessed  
Act and worthy so great a King, who if he could thereby have rendered the  
same also perspicuous, it had beene a worke of eternall honour; but such is  
the Fate of Law, that in what language soever it speaks, it never speaks  
plaine, but is wrapt up in such difficulties and mysteries (as all professions of  
profit are) as it gives more affliction to the people than it doth remedy. Here  
was also an act passed for Purveyors (as there had beene many before his  
time) that nothing should be taken up but for ready mony, upon strict punish-  
ment. For retribution of which relievements the Parliament granted six and  
twenty shillings eight pence for transportation of every sacke of wooll for  
three yeeres. Thus all were pleased, saving the remooving of the Staple,  
from the Townes of England to Calais, was some grievance to those whom  
it concerned. Yet the Kings desire to enrich that Towne, being of his owne  
acquisition, and now a member of the Crowne of England, might herein  
well be borne withall. And for this King the most renowned for valour & Cou-  
rage, that ever raigned in this kingdom, not only laboured to advance the State  
by enlarging the Dominions thereof, but to make his people as well good as  
great, by reforming their vices (whereunto fortunate and opulent States are  
evermore subject) as may be noted in the next Parliament held at Westmin-  
ster, Anno Reg. 37. where for the publike Good, certaine Sumptuary lawes,  
the most necessary to prevent Riot (that dissolving sicknesse, the fever  
Hectique of a State) were ordained both for Apparell and Dyer, appointing  
every degree of men from the Shepheard to the Prince, the Stuffe and Ha-  
bits they should weare: prohibiting the adornements of Gold and Silver,  
Silkes, and rich Furges to all, except eminent persons. Whereby foraine  
superfluities were shut out, and home-made Commodities onely used. The  
Labourer and Husbandman is appointed but one meale a day, and what  
meates he should eate, &c. whereby Gluttony and Drunkennesse, those hide-  
ous evils which have since utterly disfigured and inweebled the English  
Nation, were avoyded. So carefull was this singall King for preserving the  
estate of his Subjects from excess. And as provident was he for the ordering of his owne, committing his  
treasure to the safest Chest that Religion could keepe locked. For by a certi-  
ficate Anno Reg. 39. sent to Pope Urban, concerning Pluralities, and the  
estates of Church-men in England, there were found more of the Spiritua-  
lity which bare office about this King, than any other of Christendome be-  
fore. As first Simon Langham Archbishop of Canterbury, was Chancellor of  
England, William Wickham Archdeacon of Lincoln, Keeper of the Privie

Vid. Stat. II

Vid. Stat.

Clergy men  
Officers to  
the King.

Seale:

Seale: *David Willer*, Parson of *Somersham*, Master of the Rolles: Ten beneficed Priests Civilians, Masters of Chancery: *William Mulse* Deane of *Saint Martins le Grand*, chiefe Chamberlain of the Exchequer, Receiver and Keeper of the Kings treasure and Jewels: *William Askeby* Archideacon of *Northampton*, Chancelor of the Exchequer: *William Drigham* Prebendary of *Saint Martins*, Clatke of the Privy Seale: *Richard Chastelfield* Prebend of *Saint Stephens*, Treasurer of the King house: *Henry Snatch* Person of *Ondell*, Master of the Kings Warde-robe: *John Newham*, Parson of *Fenni-stanton*, one of the Chamberlaines of the Exchequer, and keeper of the Kings Treasurie and Jewels: *Iohn Rousbie*, Parson of *Hutwick*, Surveion and Comptroler of the Kings workes: *Thomas Brittingham* Parson of *Asbie*, Treasurer to the King for the parts of *Guisnes*, and the Marches of *Calais*: *Iohn Trops* Treasurer of *Ireland*, a Priest, and beneficed there: These men, being without those Feminine Ginnes of attraction and consunption, devoted onely to Sanctitie, were thought then fittest to be husbands for his profit.

Shortly after, three Kings came to visite the King of England, The King of France, the King of Scots, and the King of Cyprus: The occasions that moved the French King might be divers, but it seemes the speciall were to free some Hostages that remained here, and to cleare such imputations as were had of him, for not observing in all points the late Accord: wherewith his Nobles were much discontented, and many difficulties arose among them: So that in an Assembly of the States at Paris, certaine particular Lords, whose Homages were passed over to the King of England, protested against it; *Allredging*, how that the King could not dispose of the Sovereigntie of the Kingdome, nor alien his Demaine, and therefore they would not obey it. The French King notwithstanding, least King Edward should thinke this but a collusion betweene him and his Subjects, publishes his Commandement for the observation of the Accord, and there of certifies King Edward. Besides, he had undertaken a journey for the Holy Warres, and desired to settle all things in peace at home, before his going. And this might bee the occasion of his coming, and not his love to the Countesse of Salisbury, as is reported. But howsoever, this King shewed a strange disposition to returne to the Gaole, where hee had indured so much affliction, and where shortly after his coming, hee ended his life, much lamented of the King of England, who solemnly attended his Corps to Dover, whence it was conveyd to Saint Denys, and entombd with his Ancestors.

The debate for the Duchy of Brittain is about this time determined by the death of *Charles de Blois* slaine in a Battaille neere Fannes, by *Iohn de Monfort*, and the English Forces, led by the Lord Latimer, Sir *Iohn Chandos*, and Sir *Hugh Cerverley*. *Iohn de Monfort* marries *Mary* daughter to King Edward, and by his consent doth his homage for the Duchy, to *Charles* (now King of France) compounding with the widdow of *Charles de Blois* for a sum of money, and some estate in land.

And here we have some time of rest, which the Souldier whom the War had bred, could not well brooke. The cast Companies in France, though they had no head, yet had strong bodies, and did much mischief in many parts of that Kingdome, till they were employed in the Warres of Spaine, which fell out shortly after. A company of them passed over into Italy, under the conduct of Sir *Iohn Hawk*, a great Warriour, who found such entertainment with the Princes there (where he revived Militarie discipline, that had laine long unused among them) and got such honour and estate by his valour, as his fame remaines to this day, and his Statue amongst their memorable Princes.

The death of  
King Iohn of  
France.

1364.

Anno

Reg. 38

The Italians  
call him *Iobannes de Acuto*.

The businesse  
of Brittain  
accommodated for a time.



Princes for action and vertue, though he went but a *Taylor* out of this Kingdome, which in those dayes could have furnished the whole world with Leaders, and expert Militarie men.

And now heere have we brought this mighty King to the Fortieth yeare of his Reigne, which had it beene his last, we had left him the most glorious and tryumphant Prince in the world, to whom *Fortune* never yet shewed her backe, never was retrograde. But now these last ten yeares present us with a turning of the Beame, a declination from that height of glory, with certaine blemishes that age and frailtie brought upon him. This new King of *France*, *Charles* the first, intituled *The wise*; recovered great advantages upon him, having in the life time of his Father struggled so with affliction (a better Mistressse of wisdom than prosperity) and learned so well to know a Crowne before he had it, as now he manages the same with great temperance and vigilancie: and finding the preservation of that State consisted more in counsell than force (which had beene too adventurously imployed by his Father and Grand-father) hee workes his fortune by lying still, having excellent aydes and ministers to execute his designes, and labour for him: of whom for his Warres, *Guesclin* a *Brittaine*, whom hee made Constable of *France*, was of especiall note, and first shewed the way how that State was to bee recovered.

The Prince of *Wales* remaining in his Dutchy of *Aquitaine*, with a great Court, which required great expences, and many military attendants, without worke, is solicited by *Peter* King of *Castile*, chased out of his Kingdome by his bastard brother *Henry*, to ayde him to recover the same: which the Prince upon great promises of remuneration, undertakes by the consent of his father. The cause was better than the person. For this *Peter* sonne to *Alphonso* 11. King of *Castile*, had committed so tyrannicall outrages, as were inrollerable to his Subjectes, oppressing and destroying his Nobles, to enrich himselfe, putting away, and after murdering his wife (which was daughter to *Peter* Duke of *Burbon*, and sister to the now Queene of *France*) by the instigation of his Concubine *Maria de Padilla*, whom hee afterwards married. Whereupon the State adhering to his brother *Henry* (who though hee were a bastard by his birth was more Legitimate by his vertues than hee, who was more a bastard by his vices) crowned him King of *Spain* at *Burgos*, and forced *Peter* to fflye the Kingdome. This *Peter* thus rejected, the Prince of *Wales*, with an Army of thirtiethousand, attended by his brother *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, and many Lords of *England*, goes to re-invest in his Kingdome. *Henry* is ayded by the *French*, and those floting companies fore-remembred, led by *Guesclin* Constable, and *Dandreben* Marshall of *France*; having besides of Castilians, Christians, and Saracins so many, as his Army consisted of neere an hundred thousand men. Upon the borders of *Castile* it came to a Battaille, the Prince of *Wales* hath the victory: *Henry* is put to flight, the *French* Leaders taken prisoners, and *Peter* put into his Throne againe at *Burgos*.

The worke done, reward for the same is required by the Prince, which *Peter* could nor, or cared not to provide, but starving him with delayes, enforced him in the end to returne to *Burdeaux*, without mony to pay his Army, and which was worse, without health, which he never after recovered. This successe had thus unfortunate action, undertaken to right an ungratefull Tyrant, who after ward notwithstanding, was againe dispossessed, taken, and put to death, by his brother *Henry*. It is written, that to strengthen himselfe, hee combined with a Prince of the *Saracins*, married his daughter,

Anno  
Reg. 40

1367  
Anno  
Reg. 41

The Prince  
of *Wales* aydes  
the King of  
*Castile*.

The Prince  
obtains the  
victory in  
*Spain*.

and renounced the Christian faith : but it is commonly the reward of evil Princes to be made worse than they are.

The Ill-  
celle of that  
journey

The Prince of Wales returning thus out of *Spain*, charged with more debt than before, and destitute of means to content his people, falls upon another misfortune (as commonly men in these declinations, seeking remedies increase maladies) imposing a new taxation upon the *Gascoignes*, of Fevage, or chymney money, so discontented the people, as they exclaime against the government of the *English*, and appeale to the King and Court of *France* for redresse. The King of *France*, at the instance of the great Lords and others, who were turned over by the accord to hold of the Crowne of *England*, sends a Gentleman to the Prince of Wales at *Burdeaux* with summons to answer before him and his Court at *Paris*, to these complaints.

1369.  
Anno  
Reg. 43

The Empe-  
ror makes a jour-  
ney into France  
to reconcile  
the two Kings  
The allegati-  
ons of the  
English Am-  
bassadors be-  
fore the Em-  
perour.

Now had the Lords of *Azminiaque*, *D'Albert*, *Peregor*, *Cominges*, and many others, made their protestations against the King of *England*, for the Crowne of *France*, which they say, they were by nature to obey, and not to a strange Sovereigne : that it was absolutely against the Fundamental Law of the Kingdome, to dismember them from the Crowne : that the contract was made in prison, and therefore in civil, and not to be held by the right of Nations. So that they were resolved to spend their lives and estates, rather than bee under the government of *England*. By their example the Cities of the County of *Ponthieu* rendered themselves to *Guy Comte de Saint Poll*, and *Guy de Castillon*.

Will append.

The King of *England* complains of this breach of accord to the Pope, and the Emperour *Charles 4.* who made a journey into *France* to reconcile the two Kings, and determine the businesse. Before whom our Ambassadors first declare how this accord, having beene more for the good of *France* than us, in regard we resigned thereby, not onely our Title to *Normandy*, *Toufaine*, and *Anjou*, the fairest and richest Countreies of *France*: But also our Title to the Crowne, to the end we might hold in sovereignty the Dutchy of *Aquitaine*, the county of *Ponthieu*, with some other peeces, which by Hereditary right appertained to the Crowne of *England*, whereby the effusion of Christian blood was stayed, *France* had peace, and their King restored in faire manner, after a faire imprisonment, and upon the most reasonable conditions could be devised: Notwithstanding the French King, (who himselfe, with the whole councell of *France* contracted the Accord, and solemnly swore to observe the same) hath contrary to the Law of God and Nations (after he had recovered his Hostages by fraud) seized both upon the Dutchy of *Aquitaine*, and the Countrey of *Ponthieu*, without denouncing Warre, by his *Heralds*, &c.

The reply of  
the French.

The French Reply: How we by the Accord, were bound immediately to withdraw our Army out of *France*, which they say we did not, during all the Reigne of their King *John*: That the Peace was thereby made more offensive than the war, they being constrained to purchase the departure of our Souldiers with greater charge than would have maintained an Army. That the breach was on our side, for that the Souldiers were ours. That King *Edward* was bound to renounce his Title to the Crowne of *France*, in open Assembly of the States of both Realmes, which they say was not done. And concerning the releasing of their King: they say, it cost *France* more gold, than the redeeming of *Saint Louys* their K. his brother, the *Pecces*, and the whole Army, taken by the Soldan, an Infidell. Thus both sides defend their cause, being easie for Princes who will breake out of their Covenants to finde excusations. The French King (it seemes) though willing to get in what he could, yet was very loath to renew a war, & therefore with many presents courts the King of *England*: Who seeing himselfe thus deluded,

prepares

prepares to have out his Sword. And having borrowed great summes of the Clergy, sends over *John Duke of Lancaster*, and *Humphry Bohun Earle of Hereford*, with a mighty Army to *Calais*, to invade *France* on this side, whiles the Prince of *Wales* workes to recover the revolted Townes on the other. But little was effected; the Duke shortly returnes. And then *Thomas Beauchampe Earle of Warwick*, with fresh supplies is sent over, who dyes in the journey. Sir *Robert Knoles*, a man renowned in those times for valour and counsell, is made Leader of an Army, consisting of many great Lords, who disdain to be commanded by him whom they held their inferiour, overthrew themselves, and the Action.

Thus all went backe, and the *French King* growes both in State and Alliance. *Margueret*, sole daughter and Heire to *Louys Earle of Flanders*, to whom King *Edward* sought to match his sonne *Edmond*, is wonne to marry *Phillip Le Hardy Duke of Burgogne*, brother to the *French King*. And this much vexes King *Edward*, who the better to furnish himselfe for revenge, calls a Parliament at *Westminster*, wherein hee resumes his claime to the Crowne of *France*, and requires ayde of his Subjects, and hath it. The Clergy granted him, fifty thousand pounds, to be payd the same yeare; and the Laitie as much. For the levying whereof, every Parish in *England* was rated first to pay 23. shillings foure pence (the great helping the lesse) upon supposition there had beene Parishes enough to have made up that summe. But by certificate upon the Kings Writs sent out to examine what number of Parish Churches were in every Shire; they found it came short: and then rated every Parish at five pound sixtene shillings (the greater to helpe the lesse) and so, of 8600. Parishes, found to be in the 37. Shires, 50. thousand, 181. pound, 8. pence was raised. But in regard of the great povertie of *Suffolke* and *Devon-shire*, the 181. pound was abated, and the King answered fifty thousand pound for the Laitie.

Vpon this Supply the King grants that the great Charter, and the Charter of *Forrests*, should be observed in all points: which in most Parliaments of his, is ever the first Act, as may be seene in the printed Statutes. And now *John Duke of Lancaster*, and *Edmond Earle of Cambridge*, are sent with Forces into *Aquitaine*, to ayde the Prince of *Wales*, who after hee had sacked the City of *Limoges*, that was revolted, his health failing to performe any more, leaves the prosecution of the Warre to his brother: and with his wife, and yong sonne *Richard* borne at *Burdeaux*, returnes home into *England*, and here resignes unto his father the Duchy of *Aquitaine*. The Duke of *Lancaster*, after the departure of the Prince, did little, but being now a widdower (his wife dying two yeares before, in the third great Pestilence, in which yeare also *Phillip* wife to King *Edward* ended her life) hee marries *Constance* eldest daughter to *Peter King of Castile*, by whom he had the empty title of King, and was (after the death of his father-in-law) stiled King of *Castile* and *Leon*. This *Constance*, though she were the daughter of a wicked father and infamous mother, yet was so happy, that the daughter she had by the Duke of *Lancaster*, named *Katherine*, became after Queen of *Castile* and *Leon*, (being married to *Henry* third in possession before, and in her right King of both those Realmes) and left her posterity Kings of *Spain*. *Edmond Earle of Cambridge*, married also at the same time *Isabel* the yongest daughter of King *Peter*, and both shortly after returned into *England*, though without victory, yet with wives. *Lionell Duke of Clarence*, a little before, marries *Violenta*, the Duke of *Millaine* daughter in *Italy*, where they feasted him so as shortly after he died.

Anno  
Reg. 44  
Forces sent  
into France.

Anno  
Reg. 45  
A Subsidie  
granted by  
Parliament;  
and the man-  
ner of seizing  
the same.

The Duke of  
Lancaster sent  
into Aquitaine

The Prince of  
Wales returns  
into England.

The Duke of  
Lancaster mar-  
ries Constance,  
daughter to  
the King of  
Castile.

1372  
Anno  
Reg. 46



The Earle of  
Pembroke ta-  
ken prisoner  
by the Spani-  
ard.

1373.  
Anno  
Re. 47

Another Sub-  
sidie granted  
by Parlia-  
ment:

1376.  
Anno  
Reg. 50

A Parliament  
at Westmina-  
ster which  
was called  
the good Par-  
liament.

The Duke of  
Lancaster  
with others  
banished the  
Court.

Another  
jubile.

The death of  
the Prince of  
Wales.

The City of *Rochell*, that yet held out for the *English*, had indured a long siege both by Sea and land, to releve which important peece, the Earle of *Pembroke* is sent with forty shippes well manned and victualled, and besides furnished with twenty thousand markes to defrey the voyage, who incountring the *Spanish* Armado sent to ayde the *French* in this siege (by *Henry* now King of *Castile*) after a long and cruell conflikt, is taken prisoner, and his Navy utterly destroyed. King *Edward* himselfe, though now aged, sets forth with a mighty Army to recover these losses, but thereby lost more, the windes with his fortune being against him, beat him backe, having spent in this preparation nine hundred thousand markes.

Shortly after, *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, passes over againe to *Calais* with another Army, which hee leads through *France*, by the way of *Auvergne*, where amongst the mountaines he lost many of his people for want of victuals, and almost all his horse, so that he came to *Burdeaux* with a starved and distressed company, which after some time he relieves and made certaine attempts upon the enemy, but effected nothing, the date of victories was out, all went ill with the *English*. The Duke returns the next yeere, and all *Gascogne* revolts except *Burdeaux* and *Bayon*.

King *Edward* hath another supply by Parliament, a Tenth of the Cleargy, and a fifteenth of the Laytie, towards these warres: which now are sought to be ended by treaty, an unlikely way to doe any good. Two yeares are spent therein, at *Barges* and other places, with great charge of Commissioners, and much debate. The *French* having now the advantage of the time, would make their owne conditions, they require the Towne of *Calais* (from whence King *Edward* had now removed his Staple, in regard of the danger of Merchants goods) and restitution of great summes of money, which were now to be yielded: So that nothing but temporary Truces were to be gotten to serve present shifts, wherein the *English*, and their party, had ever the worse.

And here at home, besides the sicknesse of the Prince (which grew desperate) the State is diseased, the Kings age is misled, his treasure exhausted, and his affaires ill managed: A Parliament to cure these evils, is called at *Westminster*, the Kings wants are opened, and supplies required: the whole body of the Assembly, weary to beare these continuall burthens, in steed of contributions, exhibit complaints, charging the Kings Officers with fraude, and humbly craue that the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Lord *Latimer*, then Lord Chamberlaine, Dame *Alice Peirce*, the Kings Concubine, and one Sir *Richard Sturmy*, might be amoooved from Court. Their Complaints, and desires are so vehemently vrged by their Speaker, Sir *Peter La Mare*; as the King rather than not to be supplied, gave way unto them, and all these persons are presently put from Court. The Prince was held to favour their proceeding, for there seemes to bee no good correspondence betweene him and his brother the Duke of *Lancaster*, who now managed all under his aged father, and whose ambition might be dangerous to his young Sonne *Richard*, whom he was like to leave to his mercy.

The King in this Parliament, being the Fiftieth yeare of his raigne, to gratifie his Subjects, grants another generall Pardon, as another *Jubile*; wherein onely *William Wincham*, Bishop of *Winchester* is excepted, being lately by the procurement of the Duke of *Lancaster* fallen into the Kings displeasure, and forbidden to come to the Parliament. But this *Jubile* was soone turned to sorrow, by the death of the Prince of *Wales*, which happened in this Parliament time. A heavy losse to the State, being a Prince of whom we

we never heard any ill, neither received other note than of goodnesse, and the noblest performances; that Magnanimity and Wisedome could ever shew: in so much, as what prayse can be given to Vertue, is due unto him. His death changed the face of affaires. The late excluded parties returne to Court, and their former places. This Parliament, called *the good Parliament*, now wrought ill effects. Sir Peter de la Mare, at the suite of Alice Pierce, an impudent woman (working upon the Kings impotencies) is committed to perpetuall imprisonment at Nottingham. An act without example of former times; and did no good in this, especially being wrought by such a subject. This woman preluming upon the Kings favour, whom shee had subdued, grew so insolent (the common evill of such fortunes) that shee entemedled with Courts of Iustice and other Offices, where she her selfe would sit to effect her desire: which, though in all who are so exalted, are ever excessive, yet in a woman most immoderate, as having lesse of discretion, and more of greedinesse.

The Duke of Lancaster is come now to have the Regency, and to manage all the affayres of the Kingdome, and might thereby presume farther. But King Edward, to prevent the mischiefes, which by disordering the succession might grow in the Kingdome, providently settled the same in the Parliament, upon Richard of Burdeux, creating him first Earle of Chester and Cornwall, and then Prince of Wales; which made much for his present safety, lest John of Lancaster should supplant him, as Earle John did his Nephew Arthur, in the like case. For (sure it seemes) the Duke had his designe that way bent: but this confirmation by the Parliament (which hee had offended) and shortly after a breach with the Citizens of London, put him so by, as he durst not now attempt that which his Sonne after effected. But yet hee behaves himselfe very imperiously in this state hee had. And first shewes his authority on the Earle of March, commanding him over to the governing of Calais, and the parts there about. Which the Earle refuses, and cryeeld up his Rodde, with the Office of Marshall, than obey his commandement therein. The Duke takes the Rodde, and gives it with the Office to Sir Henry Percy, a man most inward with him.

Shortly after, the Parliament is assembled againe at Westminster (whether a new or the last prorogued I know not) and thither, the Duke himselfe brings Prince Richard (of the age of a 11. yeares) places him in the Kings Seate, and taught him to demand a Subsidie. Which was two Tenths, to be payde in one year: Or twelve pence in the pound of all Merchandizes sold for one year; and one pound of silver for every Knights Fee; and of every Fire-house one penny. And this Demaund the Duke earnestly urges, saying, One of them ought of necessity to be granted; in regard the enemy proclayming Warre, purposed to invade the Realme.

The Knights of the Parliament (whom the Duke, they say, had by practise made, and put by all of the last Assembly, except twelve which hee could not alter) requite respite to answer a day is appointed. The maior part make choyce of one Hungerford, a Creature of the Dukes to deliver their answer. The other would have Sir Peter de la Mare to be enlarged, and deliver theirs; and also answer to what could be objected against him, before the Lords in Parliament; and there to submit himselfe. Then the Duke demands ayde of the Bishops. They refuse to treate therein, without their Brother, the Bishop of Winchester, prohibited from coming to the Parliament.

Now there fell out an Accident, that besides gave interruption to this business. A certaine Divine, named John Wicliffe, deprived by the Archbishop

The Duke of Lancaster returns with the rest, to the Court. The revenge and behaviour of Alice Pierce.

The Duke of Lancaster governes all. Richard of Burdeux created Prince of Wales.

The Earle of March resignes his Office of Marshall, which is given to Sir Henry Percy.

John Stow. The Prince motions a Subsidy in divers kindes.

The parliament divided.

A dissention  
about John  
Wickliffe.

His doctrine.

The Duke of  
Lancaster fa-  
vours Wick-  
liffe, and why.

The conventi-  
on of Wickliffe  
before the bi-  
shops in Pauls

The Citizens  
of London take  
their Bishops  
part.

of *Canterbury* of a benefice in *Oxford*, which he was found unjustly to holde, had heeretofore, being discontented (the humour that commonly breeds Scisme) inveighed in his Sermons, and other actes in the Schooles against the abuses of Church-men, Monkes and other religious orders (which were not then so free from scandall, but might well be taxed) and had by this doctrine there, and in *London* wonne many Disciples unto him (who after were called Lollards) professing poverty, going bare footed, and poorely cladde in russet, which made them (as extreames are) the more noted, and get passage into the opinion of the people, apt to embrace novelties, and usually beguiled by disguises, in regard they rather *Believe* than *Judge*. Amongst other his Doctrines, hee taught that neyther King or other Secular Lord, could give any thing in *Perpetuities* unto Church-men, and that Temporall Lords if they neede, might lawfully take the goods of such religious persons to relieve them in their necessities, by the example of *William Rufus*, &c. A Doctrine very pleasing to great men, who commonly embrace Sects, eyther for ambition to get, or for jealousy not to lose, or for hatred to revenge.

This man, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and Sir *Henry Piercy*, much favour and cherish, extolling him both for his learning and integrity of life, which made him so farre presume, as he daily in one Church or other published his opinions without feare: Whereupon at length hee is cited to answer before the Archbishop, the Bishop of *London* and others, in *Pauls*. At the day appointed, the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Lord Marshall goe to conduct him: By the way he is animated by his Followers not to feare the Bishops, and entring into *Pauls*, the preasse is so great, as hardly any passage could be made, whereupon the Marshall using some violence, thrust in upon the people, which Courtney, Bishop of *London* prohibited him to doe, saying: *If he had knowne he would have behaved himselfe so in that place, he should not have come into the Church.* The Duke hearing these words, angerly replied, *That the Marshall should execute his authority, whether he would or not.* When they were come to our Ladies Chappell, the Duke and Barons, with the Bishops, sitting downe, John Wickliffe (sent for in by the Lord Marshall) was by himselfe willed to sit downe, in regard he sayd, the man had much to answer, and needed a convenient Seat. The Bishop of *London* told him, it was against all law and reason, that he who was there cited before his Ordinary, should sit: Hereupon contumelious words arose betweene the Lord Marshall and the Bishop, the Duke takes the Marshalls part, and sharply reprehended the Bishop, the Bishop returns the like to the Duke, who in great rage, seeing he could not prevaile, swore he would pull downe the pride of him, and of all the Bishops of *England*, *You trust, sayd he, in your Parents, but they can profit you nothing. I trust not in my Parents, said the Bishop, nor in any man living, but in God in whom I ought to trust.* The Duke, as if whispering in his eare told him, hee had rather pull him out of the Church by the haire of the head, than suffer these indignities: which words the *Londoners* over-hearing, swore with a loud voice, they would rather lose their lives, than suffer their Bishop to be thus injuriously used, and threatned to be pulled out of his owne Church. Their fury was the more incensed against the Duke, for that the day before in the Parliament (whereof he was president) it was required in the Kings name, that from thenceforth there should be no more a Maior of *London*, but a Captain appointed for the government of the City, and that the Lord Marshall of *England* should arrest offenders within the Liberties, as in other places.

About this businesse, and this wrong offered to their Bishop, the Citizens

assem.



assembled the morrow after, to consult among themselves, it happened the Lord Fitz-Water, and Guido Brian, came into the City, which the people seeing, furiously ranne upon them, and were like to beate them downe for comming unsent for, at that time. The Lord Fitz-Water protested hee came to no other end, but to offer his service to the City, being by inheritance their Standard-bearer, and was to take injuries offered to them, as to himselfe, and therefore willed them to looke to their defence. Whereupon they presently take Ames, assaile the Marshalls Inne, breake open the gates, brought forth a prisoner in his Gyves, and let him at liberty, but found not the Lord Marshall, who with the Duke that day were to dine with one John de Ipres. Then this furious multitude ran to assaile the Savoy, which a Knight of the Dukes seeing, hastes to the place where his Master dyned, & acquaints him with this uproare in the City. The Duke leapes from the Table so hastily, that he hurt both his shinnes on the Fourme, and with Sir Henry Piercy, alone takes boate, and away he gets to Kennington neere Lambeth; where the Princesse with the young Prince lay; to whom he complains of this Ryot, and the violence offered him. In the meane time the multitude comming to the Savoy, a Priest inquisitive to know the businesse, was answered, *They went to take the Duke and the Lord Marshall, and compell them to deliver Sir Peter de la Mare, unjustly detayned in Prison.* The Priest replied; *That Sir Peter was a Traytor to the King, and worthy to be hanged.* At which words they all cryed out, *This is Piercy, this is the Traytor of England, his speech bewrayes him though his apparell be disguised; and presently they ran upon him, and wounded him to death.*

The Bishop of London hearing of this out-rage, leaves his dinner, hastes to the Savoy, admonishes them to be mindefull of the holy time (being Lent) and for the love of Christ to desist from such seditious acts; assuring them, all things should be fairely ended for the good of the City. Whereupon they were something pacified, and forbore to assault the Dukes house, whose person (if they could have found) they had (no doubt) made an end of him, and the Lord Marshall in this their fury, at that time; but missing him, they yet hung up his Armes reversed, in signe of Treason in all the principall streets of the City.

The Princesse from Kennington sent *Albero de Vere, Louys Clifford, and Simon Bursleigh* to the Citizens, perswading them to make their peace with the Duke. They returned this answer, *That for her Honour they would doe what soever shee commanded:* but yet enjoyed the Knights, to will the Duke, to permit the Bishop of Winchester, and Peter de la Mare to come to the manswerc, according to the custome of the Lawes of England. They fear likewise of the chiefe Citizens to the sicke King, to excuse them of this Tumult, protesting themselves not to be privy therunto, but sought all meanes to suppress the same, which they could not do (the whole Communitie being in commotion) upon an information that their liberties should be taken from them by Parliament. The King told them, *It never was in his thought to infringe their liberties, but he rather desired to enlarge them.* And therefore willed them not to feare, but to returne to appease the Citizens, and keepe them in peace and order: which they did, and were well pleased with this answer. But yet they could not stop the passage of rimes and libels (those secret stings that wound unscene) but that they were daily spread in the City to the defamation of the Duke, and to make his name odious to the people. For which, hee procured the Bishops to excommunicate the Author of such Rimes, and Libels.

Notwithstanding, this harsh proceeding of the Duke with the State, and in a time

The Citizens in uprore,

The Duke of Lancaster in danger flees to the Princesse.

The Bishop of London appeases the tumult.

The Citizens send to the King.

A Subsidy  
granted in  
this Parlia-  
ment.

time so unseasonable, both for his owne ends, and the publike businesse, hee undertooke; The Commons in Parliament, desirous to ayde their King, granted a Subsidy on this condition, that being leavied, it should be committed to certaine *Barons* and *Barons* to see it issued, according to the occasions of the Kingdome. But this Subsidy was of a new nature, neyther in any of those kinds propounded. Every person, man and woman within the Kingdome, above the age of 14. yeares, were to pay four pence, those who lived by Almes onely excepted. The Clergy likewise grants 12. pence of every Parson Beneficed; and of all other Religious persons 4. pence of the head; A mighty and unknowne ayde, such as never was granted to any King of England before, and became a Precedent for the next Reigne, wherein it caused the first and greatest popular Insurrection, that ever was scene in this Kingdome: So tender a thing is it to taxe the people by the Poule.

And now hereupon the Parliament ended; but not the Dukes displeasure against the City. The Major and Aldermen are brought before the King at *Shene*, and advised to submit themselves to the Duke, and crave pardon for their grievous offences. They protest as before: they could not stay the rage of the multitude, who committed those insolencies, beseeching the King not to punish such as were innocent and ignorant of the fact, promising the Duke they would indeavour by all meanes to bring in the malefactors, and compell them to make satisfaction, to the honour of the Duke, and more, sayd they we cannot doe. Whereupon they were dismissed the Court, and shortly after from all their places, by power of the Duke of Lancaster; Sir *Nicholas Brember* was elected Mayor in stead of *Adam Staple*, and other Aldermen appointed in their places who were put out.

The King was desirous to have reconcild them to his Sonne, but sickness having now vanquished him, he is forced to give over the world, as the same did him, before his breath left him. And first his Concubine packing away what she could snatch, even to the Rings of his fingers, left him; then his other attendants, by her example, seasing on what they could fasten, shift away, and all his Councillours and others forsooke him in his last agony when most he needed them, leaving his Chamber quite empty: which a poore Priest in the house seeing, by chance, as he passes, approaches to the Kings bed side, and finding him yet breathing, calles upon him to remember his Saviour, and to aske mercy for his offences; which none before about him would doe, but every one putting him still in hope of life, though they knew death was upon him (a misery farall to Princes and great persons, whom flattery will never suffer to know themselves, nor their owne state, eyther in health or sickness) made him neglective of those spiritall cogitations fit for a dying Christian. But now stirred up by the voyce of this Priest, he shewes all signes of contrition, and at his last breath expresses the name of *Iesu*. Thus dyed this mighty and victorious King, at his manner of *Shene* (now *Richmond*) the 21. day of June, Anno Dom. 1377. in the 64. yeare of his Age, having raygned fifty yeares, foure moneths and odde daies.

His Character we finde best exprest in his actions, yet thus briefly. He was a Prince, he loonest a man, and the longest that held so, of any wee read: He was of Personage comely, of an even stature, gracefull, respectively affable, and well expressing himselfe: A Prince who loved Justice, Order, and his People, the Supreme vertues of a Sovereigne. His love of Justice, was scene by the many Statutes hee made for the due execution thereof, and the most straight binding oath, he ordayned to be ministred unto his Iudges and Iusticiars: the punishment inflicted on them for corruption in their Offices,

causing

The death of  
King Edward  
and the man-  
ner thereof.

His Character  
His Justice.

causing some to be thrust out, and others grievously fined, as Sir Henry Greene, and Sir Willm Skipwith, Anno Reg. 39. He bettered also that forme of publike Iustice which his Grandfather first began (and which remains to this day) making also excellent lawes for the same. 2. His regard to the observation of Order amongst his people, wittnes so many laws, as were made to restrain them from excesses in all kindes. 3. His love to his Subjects, was exprest in the often easing of their grievances, and his willingness to give them all faire satisfaction, as appears by the continuall granting of the due observation of their Charters, in most of his Parliaments. And when (Anno Reg. 14.) they were jealous, upon his assuming the title of the Kingdome of France, least England should thereby come to bee under the subjection of that crowne, as being the greater, he to cleare them of that doubt, passed a Statute, in the firmest manner could be devised, that this Kingdome should remaine intyre as before, without violation of the rights it had.

His love to his people,

Provident he was in al his actions, never undertaking any thing before he had first furnished himselfe with meanes to performe it. And therein his Subjects allowed him more with lesse adoe, than ever any of his predecessors had: and he as fairely issued what he received from them, having none other private vent of profusion, than his enterprises for advancing the State, and honour of the Kingdome. True it is, that most attent and carefull he was to get monies, but yet it was without Sackage of any man, such as his grandfather made upon the Offices of Iustice, the Justices and Officers.

His providence.

For his gifts we finde them not such as eyther hurt his owne Fame and reputation, or any way distasteth the State. To be short, hee was a Prince who knew his worke, and did it: and therefore was he better obeyed, better respected and served than any of his predecessors.

His Workes of Piety were great and many, as the founding of Eastminster, an Abbey (of the Cisteaux Order) neere the Tower. An Abby for Nunnes at Desford. The Kings Hall in Cambridge for poore Schollers. An Hospitall for the poore at Calais. The building of Saint Stephens Chappell at Westminster, with the endowment of 300. pound, per annum, to that Church. His augmenting the Chappell at Windsor, and provisions there for Church-men, and 24. poore Knights, &c. These were his publicke workes, the best Monuments and most lasting to glorifie the Memory of Princes. Besides these, his private buildings are great and many; as the Castle of Windsor, which he re-edified and enlarged. The Castle of Quinborew, Fortifications at Calais and other places.

His workes of Piety.

His magnificence was shewed in his Tryumphes and Feasts, which were sumptuously Celebrated, with all due Rites and Ceremonies, the preservers of Reverence and Majesty. To conclude, hee was a Prince, whose nature agreed with his Office as onely made for it. Those defaillances we find in him at last, we must not attribute to him but his age, wherein wee never yet saw Prince happy. When their vigor fayles them (which is commonly about 60.) their Fortune doth. Whilst this Prince held together, hee was indissoluble, and as he was then, we take his Figure.

His Magnificence.

Fortunate he was also in his Wife, a Lady of excellent Vertue, who though shee brought him little or no Estate, shee brought him much content, some benefit by Alliance, and a faire Issue. Shee drew evenly with him in all the courses of Honor that appertained to her side, and seemes a peece so just cut for him, as answered him rightly in every joynr. Gracious and loving shee ever shewed herselfe to this Nation, and did many workes of piety, amongst which Queenes Colledge in Oxford remains especially, a Monument of her Name

His Wife, and his Issue.



Name and Renowne. And it is worthy the Marke, that this King and his Grand-father *Edward* the first, the best of our Kings, had the two best Wives: Which shewes that *worthinesse* is such an *Elixir* as by conaction (if there be any disposition of goodnesse in the same Mettall,) it will render it of the property: So that these *Queenes* could be no otherwise than they were, having so excellent Husbands.

She bare unto him seven sonnes, whereof five lived to have Issue: *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, *Edmond* Earle of *Cambridge*, after Duke of *Torke*, and *Thomas* of *Woodstocke*, which became Duke of *Glocester*. Foure daughters (of five shee bare) lived to bee married. *Isabel* the eldest: to *Ingarlam* Lord of *Cowcy*, Earle of *Soissons* and *Bedford*. *Ioan* to *Alphonso* II. King of *Castile*, but shee dyed before shee lay with him. *Mary*, to *John* Monford Duke of *Brittaine*, *Margaret*, to *John* *Hastings*, Earle of *Pembrooke*, and shee also dyed without Issue.

Thus have we seene the end of this great King: who, how he came to the Crowne we know, and now how he left it we see: In both are considerations of importance. His stepping over his Fathers head to come to his throne, though it were not his fault, yet had it a punishment, and that in a most high kinde: For, having so plentifull, and so able an Issue Male, hee had not yet a sonne of his owne to sit on his Seate; but left the same (worse than he found it) to a Childe of eleven yeares of age, exposed to the Ambition of Vncles, which over weighed him: to a factious and discontented State at home: To broken and distracted inheritances abroad: Himselfe having seene all his great gettings purchased with much expence, travaile and blood-shed, rent cleane from him, and nothing remaining, but onely the poore Towne of *Calais*. To shew that our Bounds are prescribed us, and a Pillar set by him who beares up the Heavens, which we are not to transpasse.

### *The end of the Life and Reigne of Edward the third.*

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**T**Hus farre have I brought this Collection of our History, and am now come to the highest exaltation of this Kingdome, to a State full built, to a Government reared up with all those maine Couplements of Forme and order, as have held it together ever since: notwithstanding those dilapidations made by our civill discord, by the Nonage or negligence of Princes, by the alterations of Religion, by all those corruptions which Time hath brought forth to fret and canker-eate the same. And beere I leave, unlesse by this which is done, I finde encouragement to goe on.

